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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## Intellectuals and Other People\*

MERLE CURTI

MORE than a century ago Emerson called the scholar "the man of the ages." But the scholar, Emerson went on, "must also wish with other men to stand well with his contemporaries. . . . In this country the emphasis in conversation and of public opinion commends the practical man; and the solid portion of the community is named with significant respect in every circle." He added that the American people take a low view of "ideologies" and regard ideas as "subversive of social order and comfort."<sup>1</sup> Both Europeans and Americans echoed this judgment. Certainly the scholar in America has traditionally held a lower place in common esteem than in Europe, even if a witty dean was guilty of exaggeration in remarking that in the Old World an ordinary mortal on seeing a professor tipped his hat while in America he tapped his head. In Emerson's day professors and their fellow intellectuals had not come to be regarded as a special group; they were not then, nor have

\* Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association in New York, December 29, 1954.

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1883), IV, 253.

they ever come to be, looked up to, rewarded, and honored as in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

But Emerson saw only one side of the picture. At the very time that he ventured his opinion the lecture platform on which he earned his bread was receiving a good deal of popular support. Humble farmers and villagers were digging into their pockets to keep open the academies and colleges that enabled scholars to live and to train more of their kind. Popularly chosen governments were broadening the domain of knowledge through geological surveys, the Smithsonian Institution's program, the exploring expeditions at home and overseas, and the publication of historical documents. The people were also extending and improving their schools. Such activities did not, of course, necessarily imply respect for ideas and thinkers. Parents then as now often wanted education for their children for reasons of social prestige and personal advancement or as an aid to earning a living. Still, since the man of ideas is found only where education is available, it is well to remind ourselves and those elsewhere who would understand us, that from the early years of the Republic education has enjoyed increasing support. In the last half century no country has promoted and applied so much knowledge so widely and so fast as the United States.<sup>3</sup>

This affirmative attitude toward knowledge was a treasured part of our intellectual heritage. In Europe our ancestors had absorbed the classical teaching that knowledge is virtue. They had been exposed to the doctrine, so clearly stated by Francis Bacon, that knowledge is power. And the Enlightenment brought to our shores a belief that was well suited to our needs and that was broadened in its application here—the belief that popular education is necessary both for social improvement and for self-government. Americans made much of the assumption that the average man is educable, and that, properly informed, he can make rational judgments on matters of public interest. In this connection it is worth noting that some cultural anthropologists include among American values "faith in the rational."<sup>4</sup>

That Americans have had faith in the rational, but at the same time have tended to be suspicious of the life of reason, is a paradox that invites examination, and I shall keep it in mind in discussing the intellectual and other

<sup>2</sup> This point is argued and illustrated in a vast body of literature, representative examples being Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession* (New York, 1942); Claude C. Bowman, *The College Professor in America* (Philadelphia, 1938); Richard H. Shryock, "The Academic Profession in the United States," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XXXVIII (Spring, 1952), 32-70; John Hicks, "The American Professor in Europe," *Pacific Spectator*, VI (Autumn, 1952), 428-41; and William MacDonald, *The Intellectual and His Work* (New York, 1924), p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Today a third of all the foreigners who study away from home come to our research centers, *New York Times*, June 7, 1954.

<sup>4</sup> Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (New York, 1949), p. 232.



people. When Emerson used the word scholar he probably had in mind those now commonly referred to as intellectuals.<sup>5</sup> This word was not much used in America before the opening decade of the twentieth century. At first the socialists used it to mean brainworkers in general.<sup>6</sup> But nonsocialists also were soon referring to creative writers, literary critics, and journalists as intellectuals.<sup>7</sup> The term thus came to include all of these, as well as scholars, who are dedicated to the pursuit of truth in some special field or to the advancement of learning in general. It is in this inclusive sense that I shall use the term intellectual. When I speak of anti-intellectualism I shall have in mind, unless I specify otherwise, suspicion of, opposition to, or derogation of intellectuals. Except in passing I shall not deal with intellectuals in other countries. I shall speak only of some of the problems of American intellectuals amidst the unease of the world today. Intellectuals need to ask the reasons for the lack of appreciation of their peculiar contributions. They might also examine their own attitudes toward the people as thinking citizens, and toward themselves.

A consideration of the historical bases of the American distrust of intellectuals takes us naturally to the Old World. Men of knowledge have apparently been disliked even in cultures in which their status was well defined. The *Proverbs of Ptah-hotep*, written about 2500 B.C., imply that such dislike existed in ancient Egypt, for the admonition is clearly set forth, "Be not arrogant because of thy knowledge, and be not puffed up for that thou art a learned man."<sup>8</sup> Plato's *Republic* devotes many pages to an analysis of "the ill-will which the multitude bear to philosophy." Many centuries later, only a few months before the *Susan Constant* lifted anchor in the Thames to found Jamestown, there appeared in London a notable book by a statesman and philosopher who expressed concern over the widespread indignities that learn-

<sup>5</sup> For definitions of the term intellectual see *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1930) VIII, 118-24; Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (New York, 1940); Richard Hofstadter, "Democracy and Anti-Intellectualism in America," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, LIX (Aug. 8, 1953), 282-84; Jacques Barzun, *God's Country and Mine* (Boston, 1954); Granville Hicks, *Small Town* (New York, 1946), pp. 266 ff.; Franklin Baumer, "Intellectual History and Its Problems," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (September, 1949), 191-203; J. F. Wolpert, "Notes on the American Intelligentsia," *Partisan Review*, XIV (1947), 472-85; and Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York, 1942), pp. 145-54. For usage of "highbrow" see Henry L. Mencken, *The American Language*, Supplement I (New York, 1945), 325, and *The American Language* (4th ed.; New York, 1936) p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Paul LaFargue, *Socialism and the Intellectuals* (Chicago, 1900); William J. Ghent, *Socialism and Success: Some Uninvited Messages* (New York, 1910), pp. 129-76.

<sup>7</sup> Van Wyck Brooks, *America's Coming of Age* (New York, 1930), p. 7; Randolph Bourne, *Untimely Papers* (New York, 1919) and *History of a Literary Radical* (New York, 1920); Harold Stearns, *America and the Young Intellectual* (New York, 1921), p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> T. Eric Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia* (London, 1931), p. 101.

ing suffered. These were all due, Francis Bacon believed, to one or another form of ignorance, appearing "sometimes in the zeal and jealousy of divines, sometimes in the severity and arrogance of politiques, and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of learned men themselves."<sup>9</sup> These attitudes toward learning migrated to American shores along with the Baconian confidence in man's ability to manipulate nature for his own advantage.<sup>10</sup>

Bacon's words remind us that factors associated with religion are an important source of popular suspicion of intellectuals. In the first place, some of the clergy themselves, as intellectuals, have throughout much of our history invited misunderstanding and even suspicion. In colonial America as in Europe the learned clergy were often so learned that ordinary people could not understand them and found them painfully dull. But the frequent failure of the pulpit to take into account the need of the rank and file for emotional religion was even more important in explaining popular distrust of the learning associated with the cloth.

The Great Awakening was the first widespread revolt of feeling against the intellect. In proclaiming the hostility of learning to faith, evangelists often cited the Bible. Hearers were reminded that the desire of Adam and Eve for knowledge had laid their children under a curse. The implication was that there is a vast unknown which man cannot and should not try to understand. Similar complaints about the learned clergy were heard in evangelical circles throughout much of the nineteenth century. Circuit riders both expressed and confirmed popular suspicion of learning. In the early 1820's an Indiana backwoods preacher declared "there's some folks . . . howsomever, what thinks preachers must be high larn'd, afore they kin tell sinners as how they must be saved or be 'tarnally lost; but it ain't so I allow . . . no, no! this apostul of ourn what spoke the text, never rubbed his back agin a collige, nor toted about no sheepskins—no, never! . . . Oh worldlins! how you'd a perished in your sins if the fust preachers had a stay'd till they got sheepskins."<sup>11</sup>

There was also a feeling among many clergymen that scholarship somehow threatens religion. Even Jonathan Edwards, himself a profound scholar, took the colleges to task for failing to inculcate piety.<sup>12</sup> The persistence of such a view is seen in the sustained effort of the nineteenth-century academic orators to refute the charge that learning and religion are at necessary odds. No note is more often struck than this in the hundreds of commencement

<sup>9</sup> *The Essays of Francis Bacon*, ed. Richard Foster Jones (New York, 1937), p. 174.

<sup>10</sup> For Bacon's influence in America see Bernard Baum, "The Baconian Mind in Early Nineteenth Century America," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1942.

<sup>11</sup> Bayard Rush Hall, *The New Purchase, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West* (Princeton, 1916), p. 172.

<sup>12</sup> *The Works of President Edwards* (New York, 1830), IV, 264-65.

orations and other academic addresses that I have had the somewhat doubtful pleasure of reading.<sup>13</sup>

The conflict between religion and learning was given special focus in the later warfare between theology and Darwinian science. The war continued into the twentieth century, as the anti-evolutionist laws sponsored by the fundamentalists demonstrated. Some of us recall how the high priest of fundamentalism, William Jennings Bryan, delighted his audiences when he declared, "If we have come to the stage at which we must decide between geology and Christianity, I think it is better to know the Rock of Ages than the age of rocks." In any case, the Great Commoner added, "They cant make a monkey out of me."<sup>14</sup>

There is no way of measuring the role of evangelical fundamentalism in shaping popular distrust of intellectuals. Fundamentalism still influences the attitudes of large numbers of Americans. Among the better educated who hold to more liberal tenets, and even among the best educated, there are varying degrees of hostility toward, and fear of, those intellectuals who "make a God of science."<sup>15</sup> But in view of the secularization of American culture, religion is probably no longer a major source of anti-intellectualism.

More important than religion in shaping popular anti-intellectualism are those aspects of American experience which have given to our culture a predominantly utilitarian cast. This utilitarianism is a natural reflection of our frontier experience. It is also what one would expect in a culture dominated to the extent that ours is by business enterprise.

The indifference to or suspicion of learning in the older sections of the country was heightened in the West.<sup>16</sup> Most frontiersmen were content with whatever learning was clearly needed—a little "jografy," the three R's, and a dash of "surveyin." One could cite endless examples of the scorn of specialized knowledge and of culture in pioneer areas. The whole folk tradition of frontier America disparaged learning and teaching and glorified such culture heroes as Mike Fink, Daniel Boone, and Paul Bunyan.<sup>17</sup> It is not hard

<sup>13</sup> Representative examples are Rev. E. Greenwald, *Address delivered before the Students of Carrollton Academy* . . . (Carrollton, Ohio, 1845), pp. 5-6; Edward Hitchcock, *Religious Truth, Illustrated from Science, in Addresses and Sermons* (Boston, 1857), pp. 43 ff., and R. C. Smith, *A Defence of Denominational Education* (Milledgeville, Ga., 1854).

<sup>14</sup> Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, 1954), pp. 6 ff.; Maynard Shipley, *The War on Modern Science* (New York, 1927), pp. 7 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Thus it is true that Reinhold Niebuhr, himself a distinguished scholar and intellectual, expounds and publicizes a theology that subordinates reason to faith. See L. Harold De Wolf, *The Religious Revolt against Reason* (New York, 1949).

<sup>16</sup> For discussions of frontier attitudes toward book learning see Harold Dugger, "Reading Interests and the Book Trade in Frontier Missouri," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1952; R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: The Pioneer Period, 1815-1840* (Indianapolis, 1950), II, 329-30.

<sup>17</sup> Benjamin A. Botkin, *Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944), pp. 396-97, 455-56, 797.

to understand the assumption that book learning is a worthless frill, altogether meaningless in the main job of building up the country. The intellectual represents specialization and reflection; the frontier cherished versatility and action.<sup>18</sup>

These frontier traits also characterized business, which likewise put a premium on getting things done, on quick and clear-cut decisions. Merchants and entrepreneurs had little patience with the tentativeness of the scholar or with the theoretical approach of the social critic. In this American businessmen were heirs of the Elizabethan middle-class zeal for the utilitarian test of knowledge. But in America business exerted even more influence than in the homeland. For, except in limited circles, Americans generally regarded business as respectable. There was no entrenched landed gentry to look down on trade. Given over to an almost unchecked utilitarianism, the rising business community saw little to applaud in traditional learning. The culture hero of our business civilization was the self-made man, a man of action, not one of trained intellect.<sup>19</sup> Well might Emerson hold that property, by which he chiefly meant commerce and business, was a great deterrent to the realization of intellectual values.<sup>20</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth century Caleb S. Henry, who shared some of the interests of the Concord sage, wrote a thinly veiled satire on the self-made businessman's disparagement of academic and literary culture. We are introduced to McCheese, the provision dealer, who started out barely able to write his name, who made his money, and who turned up his nose in contempt at the suggestion that he give his gold to make scholars—he had got along famously without schooling. We meet among others Quintus Squeeley, self-made editor, politician, and philanthropist, who praised common schools for the people while he denounced universities as pampering the pride of the rich and grinding the faces of the poor toiling farmers and sweating wage-earners. "Look at me," he shouted. "No college made me. I made myself."<sup>21</sup> But it is not necessary to rely on satires. Collis P. Huntington's feeling about intellectuals was common among the business leaders of his day. In explaining why young men should not go to college, the shrewd railway magnate spoke of the college as a wall "with good honest labor on one side and frivolous gentility on the other." The implication was that he himself belonged on the

<sup>18</sup> There is abundant evidence of the frontier farmer's distrust of scientific agriculture, an attitude that lingered after the passing of the frontier. For examples see Albert L. Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York, 1941), pp. 250-51, and Vernon L. Carstensen, "The Land Policy of Northern Wisconsin," to be published.

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of the self-made man see Irvin Wyllie, "The Cult of the Self-Made Man in America, 1830-1910," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1949.

<sup>20</sup> *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1909-14), IV, 89.

<sup>21</sup> Caleb S. Henry, *The True Idea of the University* (New York, 1853), pp. 20-23.



side with "good honest labor."<sup>22</sup> How else indeed was his famous fortune made?

If countless Americans grumbled at much that the businessman did, the rank and file have come pretty much to accept his general outlook, including distrust of "impractical" knowledge. One trace of this distrust is the once common notion that culture is a woman's affair, an idea related to the earlier impact of both business and the frontier. It is true that women helped plant the seeds of culture in the West and that they long supported it in the growing cities when their men paid little heed to it. After all, most school teachers, as time went on, were women, and the intellectual seemed, in terms of the lingering prestige of brawn, to be only half a man.<sup>23</sup> Here is the key to the appeal of such comic strips as "Bringing up Father." You recall Mrs. Jiggs dragging the old man off to lectures and concerts when he much preferred his poker and his pipe.<sup>24</sup> Such attitudes also help explain many jokes about women's clubs and about professors, as well as Hollywood's condescension toward the academic man.

American respect for business, and the businessman's inadequate appreciation of the intellectual, have by tradition been pretty generally taken for granted. One historian has gone so far as to say that whenever business sits in the driver's seat, as it did in the 1920's and as it does today, the distrust of the intellectual is both epidemic and dominant.<sup>25</sup> Morris Cohen contended that "the same attitude which makes American business heap its main rewards on the promoter and salesman, rather than on the actual producer, makes the American public ignore intellectually productive minds in comparison with popularizers and administrators."<sup>26</sup>

Such judgments have been questioned of late. Even businessmen who themselves belittled colleges often sent their sons to them, whether for social advantage or for other reasons. Moreover, since Carnegie's time, there has been some shift in business attitudes toward the life of the mind.<sup>27</sup> Industry and finance have increasingly supported not only practical education but the liberal arts and even basic research. To be sure, the interest in the latter reflected a utilitarian motive. And despite all the current talk about the desire

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in H. S. Pritchett, "The Relation of Educated Men to the State," *Science*, n.s. XII (Nov. 2, 1900), 662.

<sup>23</sup> Harold E. Stearns, ed., *Civilization in the United States* (New York, 1922), p. 135.

<sup>24</sup> For the attitude of the comic strips toward learning and the intellectuals see Coulton Waugh, *The Comics* (New York, 1947), pp. 226-27.

<sup>25</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Highbrow in American Politics," *Partisan Review*, XX (March, 1953), 158, 161.

<sup>26</sup> Morris R. Cohen, *American Thought: A Critical Sketch* (Glencoe, Ill., 1954), pp. 26, 28.

<sup>27</sup> Walter P. Metzger has explored one aspect of this subject in his doctoral dissertation, "College Professors and Big Business Men: A Study of American Ideologies, 1880-1915," State University of Iowa, 1950.

for recruits of broad culture,<sup>28</sup> the older utilitarianism still operates. It still reinforces the popular misunderstanding and distrust of intellectuals.

In view of the utilitarianism associated with the frontier and with American business, it is not hard to see why the intellectual has from the first occupied a less important place here, and a less honored one, than in Europe. Yet one might have expected that in the young Republic the scholar would be widely respected, since during the revolt against England learned men were leaders and since the ringing words of the Declaration were those of a scholar. Jefferson did indeed give the democratic movement an intellectual base that promised to reduce tension between intellectuals and nonintellectuals. Many assumed that the freedom of thought and expression which he favored and which the Constitution guaranteed would create an atmosphere favorable to the emergence of bold and original thinkers, and also breed a citizenry educated enough in the ways and needs of a democratic society to value the contributions of men of intellect and learning. But one could hardly expect ordinary citizens of that time to see that democracy was a dream, a grand reality as a dream, but one that could be realized in practice only partially and gradually, through the generations.

Thus it was that some of Jefferson's followers bitterly resented the learning of the well-born and the well-to-do, which they linked with the privileges of class. This point is a highly important one and might be illustrated by countless examples. The case of the Massachusetts farmer, William Manning, is representative. This untutored democrat told off gentlemen for holding back cheap schools from the so-called "swinish multitude" in order that their own sons might learn in costly colleges how to live without work and to outwit the lowly poor.<sup>29</sup> Thus, though their elected President was a scholar, suspicion of scholars was widespread among the people.

Democracy in its Jacksonian phase showed strikingly the contrast between theory and practice. Old Hickory as a matter of fact attracted able intellectuals to his camp, and these in turn got handsome rewards.<sup>30</sup> One of them, George Bancroft, worked out the theory of the new movement, which left little place for intellectual experts. Democracy, he held, is the collective sense of the people, the necessary check on the insights of the individual. "If reason is a

<sup>28</sup> *Fortune*, XLIV (August, 1951), 89-92; XLVII (April, 1953), 113-14. See also Clarence B. Randall, *Freedom's Faith* (Boston, 1953), p. 85.

<sup>29</sup> William Manning, *The Key of Liberty*, ed. Samuel E. Morison (Billerica, Mass., 1922), pp. 20-21.

<sup>30</sup> The group included George Evans, Fanny Wright, Robert Dale Owen, Abner Kneeland, Dr. Charles Knowlton, John L. O'Sullivan, Hawthorne, Whitman, Bryant, Paulding, Horatio Greenough, and Edwin Forest. For an interesting discussion see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), p. 370.

universal faculty," wrote Bancroft in 1838, "the universal decision is the nearest criterion of truth."<sup>31</sup> Or, some years later: "The many are wiser than the few; the multitude than the philosopher; the race than the individual. . . ."<sup>32</sup>

At about the same time Tocqueville, who did not share Bancroft's enthusiasm for democracy, made explicit some of its underlying assumptions. The French aristocrat pointed out that in a country where men live on an equal footing and where no one notes any signs of incontestable superiority in anyone else, it is natural for all men to be constantly "brought back to their own reason as the most obvious and proximate source of truth." In denying that which they cannot understand, Tocqueville went on, the mass reveal a distrust of complex ideas and of those dedicated to their exposition.<sup>33</sup>

The new democracy's political leaders bowed to the dogma that the people are the source of all reason. Precedents for a trained personnel in public service went by the board. The democratic faith further held that no special group might mediate between the common man and the truth, even though trained competence might make the difference between life and death. The licensing of physicians is a case in point. Western states, where the equalitarian distrust of experts knew almost no limits, so lowered professional standards that any Tom, Dick, or Harry could hang out his shingle and sell his pills.<sup>34</sup> According to Daniel Drake, a Cincinnati physician and historian, the unscrupulous pseudo-doctor could in posing as "one of the *people*" accuse trained medical men of being "arrayed against the *people*" and bent on killing them off.<sup>35</sup> In Trempealeau County on Wisconsin's frontier a farmer's lad was transformed into a doctor within a few short months. In the same community a practitioner who was hospitably welcomed turned out to be a complete fraud. He had even stolen his surgical instruments!<sup>36</sup>

It was natural for politicians to exploit the people's distrust of the man of knowledge. Sometimes this exploitation was innocent enough.<sup>37</sup> But poli-

<sup>31</sup> George Bancroft, "The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion," in *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* (New York, 1857), p. 415.

<sup>32</sup> George Bancroft, *The Necessity, the Reality, and the Promise of the Human Race* (New York, 1854), p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley (New York, 1945), II, 4-5.

<sup>34</sup> See Richard H. Shryock, "Public Relations of the Medical Profession in Great Britain and the United States: 1600-1870," *Annals of Medical History*, n.s., II (May, 1930), 308-39.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in James Harvey Young, "Patent Medicines: The Early Frontier Phase," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLVI (Autumn, 1953), 256.

<sup>36</sup> Merle Curti and others, "Democracy on the Wisconsin Frontier. A Case Study: Trempealeau County," unpublished manuscript in the authors' possession.

<sup>37</sup> Thus John Reynolds, an early Illinois governor, read the classics secretly and hid his scholarly bent when running for office. John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Belleville, Ill., 1855), p. 284. Orators also recalled that in time of crisis leadership came not from the formally educated but from a practical man like Washington or from a man of the people like Lincoln. Examples are Wilberforce Nevins, *Unlettered Learning, or a Plea for the Study of Things. An*

ticians also sharply attacked their opponents as intellectuals, dishonest or dangerous or both—and attacks by sarcasm and innuendo were sometimes more deadly than straightforward thrusts. Jefferson's foes in New England, including men of learning, denounced him as an atheistic theorist who had drunk too much at the trough of the French Revolution.<sup>38</sup> Federalists generally held that the "delusions of democracy" could not be resisted by reason alone. Some urged the burning of such books as *The Age of Reason* in a "perpetual and vestal fire." The Alien and Sedition Acts were to save the country by forcing it into an intellectual strait jacket. Harrison Gray Otis even wanted to invoke the Sedition Act against the Masonic Order.<sup>39</sup>

But the champions of law and order had no patent on demagogic appeals to popular suspicion of ideas and learning. The "severity and arrogance" of politicians, to use Bacon's phrase again, was clearly shown in the congressional debates over the Smithsonian bequest to the federal government for the advancement and diffusion of learning. Jackson men appealed to mass prejudice when they jeered at the intellectual pretensions of the Whigs who wanted to use the fund for scholarship and research rather than for the application of knowledge at hand to the everyday problems of farmers and artisans.<sup>40</sup>

In our time exploitation by demagogues of popular prejudices against theory and specialized knowledge seems to have come chiefly from those opposing social and economic change. Popular distrust of new ideas was well illustrated when the Brain Trusters were damned as long-haired professors who in talking too much brought chaos into economics.<sup>41</sup> A few years later, in 1942, anti-New Dealers attacked the Library of Congress. Representative Van Zandt brushed aside the evidence of its notable contributions to the war effort by declaring that if the Library needed to know about the Burma theater it could "ask the doughboys who will come back from that part of the world in a few years." One congressman in voting against another wartime program of the Library admitted that he just distrusted the scholarly poet

*Address before the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College July 25, 1860* (Lancaster, Pa., n.d.), pp. 14–16, and Hon. Samuel W. McCall, "The Scholar in Politics as Conservative," *Phi Beta Kappa Address at Tufts College, Tufts College Graduate*, I (July, 1903), 33.

<sup>38</sup> *The Diary of William Bentley D.D.* (Salem, Mass., 1904–14), II, 423, III, 208; William Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 23, 69–70, 110.

<sup>39</sup> *Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, ed. Anne Cary Morris (New York, 1888), I, 338. See also John C. Miller, *Crisis in Freedom* (Boston, 1951), pp. 74–75, 186–87.

<sup>40</sup> David Lowenthal, "George Perkins Marsh," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953, pp. 171 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *Saturday Evening Post*, CCVI (Sept. 2, 1933), 7; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, Pt. 11, 73 Congress, 2 session, 1934, p. 11455 (June 14, 1934). Paul Bixler has argued that some of the public criticism of the Brain Trusters is to be laid at their own door for having often acted too hastily and for having by-passed democratic procedure and even fair play, "Anti-Intellectualism in California," *Antioch Review*, X (December, 1950), 542.



who headed the institution.<sup>42</sup> In referring to the episode MacLeish noted with some feeling that only two newspapers had upheld the government's most important agency of knowledge.<sup>43</sup>

When one considers such evidences of lack of faith in men of ideas among the common people, and thinks of the caliber of the demagogues elected to and retained in office by the people, it is natural to wonder whether the average man is educable, whether in fact he can be "properly informed." One asks whether unreasonable suspicion of the intellectual is not inevitable in a democratic society.

The consideration of another factor in popular anti-intellectualism may help answer the question. Intellectuals have been blamed by their fellows as well as by ordinary people for being indifferent or hostile to the struggles of the common man for a greater measure of social justice. At about the very time that Horace Greeley made this point in an address in 1844 at Hamilton College,<sup>44</sup> a Virginian speaking to Princeton alumni regretfully conceded that learned men as a body had never been distinguished among the Hampdens, the Sidneys, and the Patrick Henrys of mankind.<sup>45</sup> After the Civil War the indictment of intellectuals continued.<sup>46</sup> Wendell Phillips, in his Harvard Phi Beta Kappa address in 1881, maintained that scholars on the whole had dodged the challenge in five great chances to side with the forces of progress and humanity: the slavery controversy, penal reform, the temperance crusade, the woman's movement, and the labor struggle.<sup>47</sup>

Although there was some point to this indictment, the critics forgot an important part of the record.<sup>48</sup> Some intellectuals had indeed opposed the Revolution, but many valiantly justified the appeal to arms and worked shoulder to shoulder with other patriots for victory. So in the Civil War intellectuals fought with the sword as with the pen, and did not ask which was mightier.<sup>49</sup> Many also gave themselves without stint to the very struggles that

<sup>42</sup> *Congressional Record*, LXXXVIII, Pt. 2, 77 Congress, 2 sess., pp. 2675-76 (Mar. 18, 1942).

<sup>43</sup> *New York Times*, Mar. 26, 1942; Archibald MacLeish, "The Attack on the Scholar's World," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXV (July 18, 1942), 3-6.

<sup>44</sup> Horace Greeley, *An Address before the Literary Societies of Hamilton College* (New York, 1844), *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> James McDowell, Esq., *An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of the College of New Jersey* (Princeton, 1838), p. 35.

<sup>46</sup> For example, Whitelaw Reid, in an address at Dartmouth in 1873, urged scholars to provide radical leadership. *Scribner's Monthly*, VI (September, 1873), 614.

<sup>47</sup> Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Addresses, and Lectures. Second Series* (Boston, 1891), pp. 338-39.

<sup>48</sup> E. A. Ross discussed the initiative intellectuals took in certain reforms, such as civil service, scientific charity, and public health, measures often opposed by the rank and file. Edward A. Ross, *The Principles of Sociology* (rev. ed., New York, 1930), pp. 584-85.

<sup>49</sup> Merle Curti, "The American Scholar in Three Wars," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, III (June, 1942), 241-64.

Phillips cited. In the later decades of the nineteenth century and in our own, intellectuals have taken an increasingly active part in democratic and humanitarian struggles. To take one example, the remarkable and heartening improvement in race relations, especially in the last generation, has come about with the active, persistent, and important help of intellectuals.

The role of the intellectual in democratic struggles needs further study. It is clear, however, that intellectuals as a group do not merit either blame or praise on this score—they have not been against the people or for the people; they have taken many positions, they have merely been people! And after all, no one knows how many of the plain people have blamed intellectuals for aloofness from their struggles. In any case the failure of intellectuals to take part in democratic movements has clearly not been an important factor in suspicion of the intellectual. In fact, in supporting humane but unpopular movements intellectuals have, especially of late, brought disapproval on themselves from the main body of the people. For example, the American peace movement and efforts to advance toward the long-cherished ideal of world brotherhood, have been and still are suspect in the minds of many people and in the files of many editorial offices.

Having considered various possible factors in popular anti-intellectualism we are left with the conclusion that probably only those associated with business and the frontier, and with the workings of American democracy, are really of weight. Although the distrust based on these factors is not justified and is due, as a modern Bacon might say, to ignorance of the true function of an intellectual, still it is here and must be reckoned with.

This lack of understanding is not merely a matter for casual historical comment. Too much reminds us of the serious present situation. It was one thing when rank and file merely regarded intellectuals who exerted their necessary critical functions as crackpots; it is another when, as in the Condon and Oppenheimer cases, they are smeared as subversive. The significant thing is, I think, that in the cold war the gulf has been dangerously widened between the masses and intellectuals as these carried on the essential functions of their craft—criticism, experimentation, and the effort to bridge different cultures of the world through understanding.<sup>50</sup>

What the people have thought about intellectuals cannot, of course, be separated from what the intellectuals have thought about the people. We could profitably discuss the attitudes of intellectuals toward various segments of the American population—toward farmers, laborers, businessmen, doctors, dancers, and teachers. One might be tempted to dismiss this important sub-

<sup>50</sup> Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (6 vols., Oxford, 1934-39), V, 55-56.

ject by referring to certain stereotypes prevalent in our society—to the notion, for example, that intellectuals have always been hostile to business. Actually American intellectuals have varied greatly in their attitudes toward business, although some sort of disapproval has probably predominated.<sup>51</sup> Of late the tide seems to have changed, with historians too joining in the generally appreciative chorus. But whether this change reflects a new synthesis or is merely a new tune in a current hit parade, we do not know. The problem is complex, and calls for careful, objective study. Attitudes of intellectuals toward other groups and movements in American life have also varied greatly, and also call for study.

On this occasion I can only raise a question or two concerning the attitudes of intellectuals toward the American people in general. These have varied from the aristocratic condescension of a Hamilton or a Santayana to the romantic idealization of a Bancroft or a Whitman, with varying degrees of realism in between. Despite the faith in the reasoning power of men that was implied in the Declaration of Independence, we know that from the time of the founding fathers on, that faith has been much qualified and questioned.

For a time intellectuals thought that science had settled the issue of the common man's ability to think, and that it was low indeed. Shortly after the First World War, certain psychologists announced that the average mental age of American adults was thirteen years. Papers bristling with statistics "proved" that colored people were hopelessly inferior in native ability to think—though they were fine at singing! Psychologists and popularizers of psychology cited overwhelming evidence, statistical of course, which indicated that the new immigration was of inferior intellectual stock.<sup>52</sup> And a journalist sounded a clarion call to the intellectuals because the whole white world was threatened by a rising tide of color!

More cautious psychologists at the time pointed out that the mental tests were not yet adequately standardized and that test scores were affected by amount of education, language used in the home, and degree of familiarity with the materials used in the test.<sup>53</sup> This patient correction of the early over-

<sup>51</sup> The subject needs exploration, but Barbara Chartier has made a start in "Social Role of the Literary Elite," *Social Forces*, XXIX (December, 1950), 179-86. See Dwight MacDonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," *Diogenes*, no. 3 (Summer, 1953), 1-17; Gilbert Seldes, *The Great Audience* (New York, 1950); Edmund Wilson, *The Shores of Light* (New York, 1952), pp. 16 ff.; and Leo Gurko, *Heroes: Highbrows and the Popular Mind* (Indianapolis, 1953). See also Peter Viereck, *The Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals* (Boston, 1953).

<sup>52</sup> The basis for such arguments was "Psychological Examining in the United States Army." *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, XV (1921).

<sup>53</sup> For a brief, informative account see Barbara Schieffelin and Gladys Schwesinger, *Mental Tests and Heredity* (New York, 1930). See also Melville Herskovits, *The Negro and the Intelligence Tests* (Minneapolis, 1927) and Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences* (New York, 1935) and *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York, 1944).

hasty work did not make the headlines, however. And Mencken and his many followers could feel smug and well supported by science as they ridiculed the boobocracy.

Of late years intellectuals have had doubts not only about the thinking of the plain people but about their own. The last generation has seen so general a "retreat from reason" among intellectuals that we now have a vast literature on anti-intellectualism. This literature is not mainly about the popular anti-intellectualism which I have been discussing, the people's distrust of the intellectual. Rather it deals with the limits of reason in human thinking, and in it the word anti-intellectualism is used in several different senses. First, early in the present century the word was used by left-wing radicals as Sorel used it in Europe, to denote opposition to extreme indulgence in merely abstract or verbal thinking. Instead, these radical writers stressed experience, common sense, and action.<sup>54</sup> Second, in certain philosophical circles the term denotes the belief that such nonrational factors as instinct, intuition, and faith rank above reason in the pursuit of truth. Those holding to this general position I would say are indeed truly anti-intellectualists, although they of course are intellectuals. Bergson in Europe spoke for the scholars among these suspects of reason, and William James in this country inclined toward this position at times.<sup>55</sup> Of religious-minded intellectuals, Reinhold Niebuhr and Thomas Merton come to mind as men who belong here. So do some mystics and some writers who have reacted so strongly against reliance on reason that they might well be called irrationalists. Such American followers of D. H. Lawrence as Henry Miller are illustrations.

In the third place, the term anti-intellectualism has been widely applied to the effort to find out, through observation, experiment, and logical reasoning, just what role rational and nonrational factors play in thinking.<sup>56</sup> In this effort people of such different views as Freud and Dewey have been promi-

<sup>54</sup> John Spargo, "Anti-Intellectualism in the Socialist Movement: A Historical Survey," in *Sidelights on Contemporary Socialism* (New York, 1911), pp. 67-106; Ghent, *Socialism and Success*, pp. 129-76; and William E. Walling, *Progressivism and After* (New York, 1914), pp. 240 ff. For the European background see Richard D. Humphrey, *Georges Sorel: Prophet without Honor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

<sup>55</sup> The background of this was, of course, certain currents in the Romantic movement. See Walter E. Houghton, "Victorian Anti-Intellectualism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIII (June, 1952), 291-313. Early philosophical discussions of this movement include Gustav Spiller, "Voluntarism and Intellectualism," *Philosophical Review*, XIII (July, 1904), 420-28; Frank Thilly, "Romanticism and Rationalism," *ibid.*, XXII (March, 1913), 107-32, and *A History of Philosophy*, revised by Ledger Wood (New York, 1951), pp. 569 ff. See also Bertrand Russell, "The Revolt against Reason," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLV (February, 1935), 223-32.

<sup>56</sup> Graham Wallas was in one sense a pioneer in this approach. See *The Great Society* (New York, 1914) pp. 41 ff., 217 ff. For recent discussions, see Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York, 1937), pp. 67 ff., 111 ff., 219 ff., 491 ff., and Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men* (New York, 1950), pp. 503 ff.

ment. Indeed, the group of intellectuals who believe in trying through reason to define the place of reason in human life probably includes the great majority of American intellectuals. I do not like to call them anti-intellectualists, for they are not opposed to reliance on reason as are those in our second group. Actually they are trying to think straighter, to reason better, and to encourage a rational attack on the problems of life that call for clear thinking.

Intellectuals who belong in one or another of these three groups differ very widely in attitude toward the use of reason, but one sees the common factor which has caused them all, by one writer or another, to be labeled "anti-intellectualists." This common factor is what may be called a critical attitude toward the role of reason in human nature, an attitude which of course has a very long history but which since Darwin's time has become so dominant that the phrase "retreat from reason" seems an apt characterization of the present intellectual climate.<sup>57</sup>

The two towering figures who have examined the role of reason in the last century, Marx and Freud, are anti-intellectualists only under the last definition. They both were trying to contribute to a clearer understanding of rational and nonrational forces in individual and social life, and in my view are not really anti-intellectualists.

The father of modern socialism contributed to a clearer understanding of human nature and the social process by showing that much so-called objective thinking reflects class bias. His emphasis on these forces and on such nonrational motivating factors as modes of production and drives for power has proved very stimulating to intellectuals in many fields.<sup>58</sup> It is only when these theories have been accepted as gospel and become part of a religion, that they have been really anti-intellectual in the sense of militating against the use of reason in human thinking. In so far as Marxian doctrines have been uncritically accepted there is no doubt that they have contributed to the distrust of reason, among intellectuals as among the common people who have been converted. Certainly wherever communism rules, there is regimentation of thought which is anti-intellectualism to the nth degree.

Neither was Sigmund Freud a thoroughgoing anti-intellectualist. He made great contributions to a clearer understanding of the nonrational forces in human nature. But some intellectuals influenced by Freud were truly

<sup>57</sup> Eric R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951). See also Ralph Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions* (New York, 1941), I, 318 ff., II, 832.

<sup>58</sup> The classic statement in Marx's writings on the relation of knowledge to the social structure is in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (New York, 1904), p. 11. For discussions of the nonrational and rational components of Marxism consult Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, pp. 491 ff., and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Science and the Distrust of Reason* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 9 ff. See also Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (New York, 1940).

anti-intellectualist. And some of Freud's followers have been notoriously uncritical. One thinks of the psychiatrist, for instance, who, in a paper on the death wish in animals, attributed suicidal desires to cats because so many of them are killed in running across the road! The Freudian emphasis in much of our drama and fiction detracts from the belief that human rationality, to borrow the words of Joseph Wood Krutch, is the most important realm in which man can fruitfully live.<sup>59</sup> Add to this the role of Freudianism in making much contemporary art and literature unintelligible to all but the initiate, and its anti-intellectualist implications are the more apparent.<sup>60</sup> In so far as the masses have absorbed the Freudian theses there must be among them less willingness to respect the role of intellectuals as disinterested guardians of reason and as having a special authority or a special contribution to make. The whole subject needs careful study.

It is now common to insist that instrumentalism and progressive education are major factors in contemporary anti-intellectualism, considered as "the retreat of learning and reason."<sup>61</sup> Dewey's instrumentalism certainly challenged the traditional dualists who gave primacy to reason and ideas. It is true that Dewey showed the weakness in the old-fashioned mental discipline and emphasized problem-solving activities. But it is unfair to identify instrumentalism and progressive education with the current distrust of intellectual values. In the first place, there is very little progressive education in this country. Second, much that is called progressive education is a shocking perversion of Dewey's teaching and example. In the third place, the criticisms overlook his emphasis on the great importance of critically reliving and reconstructing experiences in terms of new situations. Dewey did not reject reason: he tried to improve reasoning. Nevertheless many tenaciously hold that his theories have subtracted intellectual values from public school education. They fail to see that these have been deleted largely because of an expanding population and the vocationalism demanded by a business-minded people.

Both popular distrust of the intellectual and anti-intellectualism among the intellectuals seem to have waxed stronger than ever in recent years. One might have expected popular anti-intellectualism to lessen in the present century, with Jacksonian democracy far in the past, the frontier a memory, and education and research supported as never before. But, despite a few

<sup>59</sup> Joseph Wood Krutch, *"Modernism" in Modern Drama* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1953), p. 131.

<sup>60</sup> Discriminating treatments of the theme can be found in Frederick Hoffman, *Freudianism and the Literary Mind* (Baton Rouge, 1945) and Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination* (New York, 1950), pp. 34-58.

<sup>61</sup> The relation is discussed with qualifications in Arthur E. Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools* (Urbana, Ill., 1953), pp. 51 ff.



dissenting voices,<sup>62</sup> most observers who have written on the theme agree that popular suspicion of the critical role of intellectuals has increased, that it has become more intense, and that demagogues are exploiting it as never before in our history.<sup>63</sup> The official sanctions given to the attacks on intellectuals and on the reasoning process have disturbed not only secular-minded liberals but prominent Catholics as well.<sup>64</sup> Not only the distrust of intellectuals but actual interference with rational inquiry and fact-finding procedures, as in the Bureau of Standards case, have deeply troubled scholars and citizens alike. Anti-intellectualism has also evoked sustained comment in journals of opinion at home and abroad.<sup>65</sup> McCarthyism, a particularly virulent form of anti-intellectualism in the popular sense, has become an international issue. And we recall the attacks on Adlai Stevenson and the scholars and writers who worked for him in 1952. Our common speech in that year took on as a term of opprobrium the curious word egg-head—the overtones of meaning ranged from scrambled to soft-boiled! The memory of the California oath is still fresh. So is the attack the staff of the Reece committee has lately made on the foundations and on a Commission of our own American Historical Association.

The most common, the most obvious, and perhaps the soundest explanation for such a situation is, of course, the climate of opinion created by the cold war in general and the revelation of certain cases of disloyalty in the intellectual community in particular. But our fellows in the social sciences have argued that increase in anti-intellectualism is the product of profound social and cultural changes which have long been under way and have only been accelerated of late. Specialization of functions has, it is said, increased the social distance between intellectuals and the rest of the community to such an extent that viable relations have become all but impossible. How can there be understanding in view of the depersonalized relations between intellectuals and nonintellectuals in the anonymous community of our time?<sup>66</sup>

Still other social scientists contend that the changing American culture favors those who make slogans and write advertisements, who rationalize

<sup>62</sup> For example, David Riesman, "Some Observations on Intellectual Freedom," *American Scholar*, XXIII (Winter, 1953-54), 9-26, and Eugene Lyons, "What Reign of Terror Petrifies the Intellectuals?" *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXVI (May 1, 1954), 10.

<sup>63</sup> Aaron Levenstein, "The Demagogue and the Intellectual," *Antioch Review*, XIII (Sept., 1953), 259-74; Marya Mannes, "Any Resemblance . . .," *The Reporter*, VIII (June 23, 1953), 34; the remarks of Senator J. W. Fulbright, Feb. 2, 1954, *Congressional Record*, C (Feb. 2, 1954), 1105-1106. Two examples of anti-intellectualism in more or less formal exposition are William F. Buckley, Jr., *God and Man at Yale* (Chicago, 1951), and Paul Harvey, *Autumn of Liberty* (Garden City, N. Y., 1954).

<sup>64</sup> *Commonweal*, LVII (Nov. 28, 1952), 218, and LIX (Jan. 15, 1954), 380.

<sup>65</sup> The report in the *London Economist*, CLXVI (Mar. 21, 1953), 802-803, is representative.

<sup>66</sup> Baker Brownell, *The Human Community* (New York, 1950), pp. 20 ff., 219 ff.; C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York, 1951), pp. 142-60.

the interests of government and business, rather than those who inquire and debate.<sup>67</sup> Many, perhaps most who engage in these activities, do not stop to consider that their own thinking is bound to be affected, yes, debased, by the evasions and half-truths that they turn out as information. But this only makes the surrender to anti-intellectualism the more insidious. In short, the intellectual tends to become a mere bureaucrat, a powerless figure, unable to defend reason and the freedom of the mind, perhaps seeing no necessity of so defending it, however formidable the assaults to which these are subjected in our "age of unreason and anxiety."<sup>68</sup>

Related to the tendency of many intellectuals to become mere technicians is the contention that the changing American culture also sets high value on the ability to get along with the group and to take cues from it.<sup>69</sup> This is stifling to independent thought and it has promoted a climate in which it is easy to identify nonconformity with subversion and in which it is not easy to think critically. So run the arguments of many of our colleagues in other social disciplines.

The historian might well give serious attention to such analyses as these. It also seems to me highly important to explore the impact of the military on the life of intellectuals. What has been the influence of the habit of obedience and command on the free and inquiring mind? What about psychological warfare? A writer in the London *Economist* thinks it is bad for those who wage it. "On both sides of the iron curtain," he says, "there must be many thousands of unhappy psychological warriors who know, if they ever stop to think, that they are being corrupted by their own daily work."<sup>70</sup>

The arguments of the social scientists have not been sufficiently tested to satisfy the historian. Indeed, they have been challenged by those who hold that the intellectual in contemporary America is no more isolated or frustrated than intellectuals have always been, that the professor now actually rates high on the scale of the public opinion poll, and that the middlebrow has appeared to mediate between lowbrow and highbrow to the advantage of each.<sup>71</sup> The historian might well bring his talents to bear in helping to

<sup>67</sup> Eric A. Havelock, *The Crucifixion of Intellectual Man* (Boston, 1950), pp. 74 ff.

<sup>68</sup> C. Wright Mills argues this point tellingly in more or less these words in *White Collar*, chap. 7, and elsewhere. It is interesting to note that when the New York edition of Julien Benda's *Treason of the Intellectuals* (New York, 1928) appeared, many reviewers did not seem to attach much importance to Benda's indictment of the intellectuals for their "surrender" to "utilitarianism" and to "power struggles." See, for example, *Nation*, CXXVIII (Jan. 2, 1929), 23-24; *New Republic*, LVII (Dec. 12, 1928), 105-107; and *Saturday Review of Literature*, V (Oct. 27, 1928), 289-90.

<sup>69</sup> David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, 1950), *passim*.

<sup>70</sup> *London Economist*, CLXXII (Aug. 14, 1954), 498-99.

<sup>71</sup> Barzun, *God's Country and Mine*; Russell Lynes, "Highbrow, Lowbrow, and Middlebrow," *Harper's Magazine*, CXCVIII (February, 1949), 19-28; *Life*, XXVI (Apr. 11, 1949), 99-102.

test these conflicting ideas. In so doing he can and should make use of objective measures of social change such as repeated attitude and public opinion studies, carefully handled according to the newer and more critical statistical methods.

But we do not need to use refined statistical methods to know that fear is abroad in our country and that those who live by ideas are especially subject to hysterical and unwarranted attack. Civil liberties won through centuries of struggle are in danger. Many of us believe that the contemporary attack on reason endangers not only the intellectual life but American civilization itself. Believing this despite the assurance from certain quarters that all is well, we are obliged, as intellectuals, not only to promote researches which may further illuminate the problem but also to search for possible alleviations of today's critical tensions.

From at least the mid-nineteenth century to our own day proposals have been made for the recognition of a cultural elite as one way of strengthening the position of the intellectual. These proposals have sometimes been launched with a kind of pride, approaching snobbishness, that Bacon would have called arrogance. The evidence for such "arrogance" is likely to be indirect. It is found, for example, in commencement orations of a hundred years ago which often admonished graduating classes to avoid giving offense by assuming airs.<sup>72</sup> With the spread of college education it is probable that such admonitions came to be less needed. Some intellectuals, however, have continued to invite resentment by the way in which they hold their learning. Somehow the impression is conveyed that they feel a moral superiority to the hillbillies, the masses of common people, because they know that El Greco is better than Gainsborough, Emily Dickinson than James Whitcomb Riley. Psychologists keep telling their fellow intellectuals that high intellectual capacity is not a personal achievement but a gift of nature, widely distributed among all classes. Yet there is a temptation for the "happy few" to be patronizing toward those whose children will some day sit at their desks and speak from their platforms. Sometimes we forget that it was a boy born in a crude log cabin who grew up to write the Gettysburg address, that a humble Massachusetts fish peddler wrote letters that will be long remembered, that the great religious leader of the Western world was a carpenter.

<sup>72</sup> Examples are Harvey Curtis, D.D., *Inaugural Address delivered at the Annual Commencement at Knox College* (Chicago, 1858), pp. 6 ff.; John Holmes, *An Address delivered at Waterville, before the Associated Alumni of Waterville College . . .* (Portland, 1831), pp. 21-22; Philip Lindsley, *Speech about Colleges, delivered in Nashville, on Commencement Day . . .* (Nashville, 1848), pp. 24 ff.; L. Carroll Judson, *The Probe . . .* (Philadelphia, 1846), pp. 43-44; Henry Ward Beecher, *Man and His Institutions* (New York, 1856), pp. 9 ff.; Rev. R. H. Bishop, *Address at Miami, Sept. 30, 1830* (Miami, 1830), pp. 46 ff.; and Theodore Parker, *The American Scholar*, ed. George W. Cooke (Boston, 1907), pp. 1 ff.

Although the idea of a cultural elite is undeniably attractive today, it is without substantive precedent in this country unless one goes back to the Puritan clergy or, possibly, to Jefferson's University of Virginia. It also defies our democratic tradition of the dignity of all work and the worth of each human being. It is consistent with our democratic institutions to hold that some will be better at certain kinds of work than others, and to respect the methods and honor the achievements of specially gifted or specially trained people. But for any group consciously to set itself up, because of its abilities and training, as superior to other groups in society is inconsistent with democracy. Thus the elitism implicit or explicit in the writings of Santayana, Babbitt, Mencken, and Hutchins is unrealistic.<sup>73</sup>

The old notion of the scholar as belonging to a class apart from and above the people is also, it seems to me, related to a dualistic tradition that has little place in the world today. We see this dualism reflected in Plato's arguments for the philosopher king, in medieval scholasticism, in the rationalism of many philosophers, and in the faculty psychology of the last century, repudiated by scientific psychologists but still influential. In so far as reason is regarded as "pure" and in so far as it is assumed that thinking can operate without reference to consequences, this dualistic tradition of mind and body, of materialism and idealism, fits in with and reinforces the too-sharp distinction between the man of thought and the man of action.

I am not certain when the first formal rejection of this time-honored position was made. I do know that the academic addresses of a century ago clearly point to such a rejection. For example, a spokesman in a small Ohio college in 1843 maintained that misunderstanding and antagonism on the part of the producing classes and the intellectuals toward each other was neither necessary nor desirable. It was, he urged, rooted in an Old World tradition that drew a curtain between the philosophers who isolated themselves from that useful, everyday knowledge the people possessed; and the producing classes who, destitute of intellectual culture and unable to grasp the relation and meaning of what they saw, failed to contribute to society what they might otherwise have given.<sup>74</sup>

It remained, however, for a philosopher in our time to probe into the traditional dualism between thought and action. John Dewey has given us the fullest and most thoughtful statement of this approach. He maintained

<sup>73</sup> David Spitz in *Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought* (New York, 1949) gives an informative treatment of the general idea of an elite.

<sup>74</sup> Rev. Sherman Canfield, *An Address on the Power and Progressiveness of Knowledge, delivered at the Commencement of Willoughby University, Feb. 22, 1843* (Painesville, Ohio, 1843), pp. 18 ff. Canfield was a Presbyterian minister who, after a residence in Ohio City, was pastor of the First Church in Syracuse from 1854 to 1870.

that the distrust of intellectuals by the common man and the reservations many intellectuals have about the plain people, are related to the Old World heritage that originated and flourished in class societies.<sup>75</sup>

Dewey's association of dualism with class societies has been questioned and many competent philosophers detect flaws in the instrumentalism that he has offered in place of the doctrines he criticized.<sup>76</sup> I leave to philosophers the task of unraveling the more technical aspects of the controversy. But I know that the physiologists and experimental psychologists support Dewey's basic theory that thinking is not sharply set off from action. Thinking indeed *is* activity, symbolic activity, and an idea is an embryonic act. It is true that when theory is too quickly applied in practice, harm or even disaster may result. But to avoid reference to the problems of the day and association with ordinary people, deprives intellectuals of valuable tests for their theories, as well as of stimulating contact with American experience. The ivory tower can become a pretty dull place, and rather unproductive, too.

The historian can call attention to a body of American experience that is in line with Dewey's general position. Benjamin Franklin operated effectively on the assumption that there is no necessary dichotomy between theory and practice. Leading founders of the Republic, notably the framers of the Constitution, were men of action, and also educated men with great respect for learning. I may also refer again to the fairly successful co-operation between intellectuals and people in the great crises of our history, and to the shoulder-to-shoulder partnership intellectuals entered into with farmers and other humble folk for a greater measure of social and economic justice.

The role of intellectuals in the labor movement, a subject that needs further investigation, is illuminating in this connection. In general labor did not ask for guidance<sup>77</sup> though many wage-earners did read *Looking Backward, Progress and Poverty*, and the Haldeman-Julius distillations of socialist theory. Even wage-earners who at first pinned much hope to the new interest of the intellectuals in their movement were disillusioned when they found that some brainworkers were patronizing and that others were prone to lead the rank and file into what labor leaders looked on as wild goose

<sup>75</sup> Dewey developed these ideas in many books and articles, especially in *Experience and Nature* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 21, 37, *Freedom and Culture* (New York, 1939), *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (New York, 1920), and *The Public and Its Problem* (Chicago, 1946), p. 138.

<sup>76</sup> For example, Arthur E. Murphy, *The Uses of Reason* (New York, 1943), pp. 85-95; Max Horkheimer, *Eclipse of Reason* (New York, 1947), pp. 54 ff.; Morris R. Cohen, *American Thought*, pp. 290 ff.; John U. Nef, *The United States and Civilization* (Chicago, 1942), p. 210.

<sup>77</sup> Selig Perlman, *Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York, 1928), pp. 5-9, 41-42, 68. Cf. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, IV (July, 1951), 489-94 and *American Federationist* XXIII (March, 1916), 198-99, and XXIX (March, 1922), 212-15.

chases. In turn, many intellectuals were also disillusioned when they found that trade unions did not always observe the canons of democracy, that the movement was spotted with intra-power struggles, and that it was more concerned with wages than with social justice in the broad sense. In time the intellectuals who stuck with the movement either ceased being intellectuals or learned the folly of trying to lead it too quickly or too far from its mooring, learned to respect "the tough fabric of custom and behavior" which at first they had misunderstood or challenged.<sup>78</sup>

One might also consider the successful experiences of experts in economics, political science, and law at the University of Wisconsin in serving the progressive movement by blueprinting social legislation and by staffing the state commissions.<sup>79</sup> Other examples will come to mind, such as the pioneer work of Thomas Davidson, William Allan Neilson, and Morris Cohen at Breadwinners College and of Charles Beard at Ruskin Hall and, years later, in the Bureau of Municipal Research. In the 1930's this approach received wide implementation in the Federal Arts Projects and in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

One cannot claim that all these experiments were entirely successful. I know that many competent authorities take a less cheerful view than many of us do, and tend rather to agree with an earlier president of this Association who spoke from experience as well as scholarship. Woodrow Wilson maintained that the conflict in America between the man who thinks and the man who does is inevitable.<sup>80</sup> One must admit that his own effort to do both lent a tragic tension to his whole work. But in my view the total record is impressive. Today the intellectual, living in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, is tempted, especially if he works in the field of the humanities or the social sciences, to seek safety in narrow specialization. But consideration of experiences such as those I have called to mind might well encourage him instead to turn his back on the ivory tower. For they have shown that intellectuals and other people can work together, can understand each other.

Finally, intellectuals must surely give more thought to popular education, both to adult education and to the teaching of the young. Something has been painfully lacking in the education of the American people, something

<sup>78</sup> This account is much indebted to George Soule's *The Intellectual and the Labor Movement*, League for Industrial Democracy Pamphlets (New York, 1923). See also Herbert E. Cory, *The Intellectuals and the Wage Earners* (New York, 1919). C. Wright Mills has brilliantly discussed the contemporary aspects of the problem in *The New Men of Power* (New York, 1948), pp. 281 ff.

<sup>79</sup> Charles McCarthy, *The Wisconsin Idea* (New York, 1912) and Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History* (Madison, 1949-50), II, 3, 109-11, 132-33, 441.

<sup>80</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *Leaders of Men*, ed. T. H. Vail Motter (Princeton, 1952), pp. 8 ff.



above and beyond the overemphasis on vocationalism. It is clear that Americans have not been taught to understand what critical thinking is. I realize of course that education cannot easily rise above the prevailing cultural level which sets the problems and prescribes much that is done. But in our culture it is possible to teach children as well as adults to avoid falling into the trap of what has been called the undistributed middle—of hearing that X is a communist, knowing that X is an intellectual, and concluding that all intellectuals are communists. We have lately heard a spirited appeal to resist the vocationalism in our schools. To my mind it is much more important for crusaders to bring home to educators the tragic consequences of assuming that vague ideals, indoctrination of moral and political values, or even the discipline of the basic school subjects, are sufficient to develop an ability to resist the emotional appeal of the demagogue.

I said that adults can be taught, too, and modern psychologists assure us that learning is possible at any age. Most people have the ability to understand why it is important, in a democratic and changing society, not to be afraid of new ideas. And intellectuals need not always talk down. As Theodore Parker said, the scholar is “to think with the sage and saint, but talk with common men.”

I cannot forbear making explicit some of the implications of my analysis for the historian. As historians we have an important part to play in the educational reform I have just mentioned. We ought not, moreover, to dismiss lightly the fact that intellectuals have contributed to anti-intellectualism, considered both as the subordination of reason to emotion and as popular antagonism to scholars and social critics. I have noted elsewhere signs that our circle has been subtly influenced by anti-intellectualism.<sup>81</sup> I have in mind the danger that in trying to correct yesterday's historians of business and wars, we may without realizing it become filiopietistic. For as Cassirer has reminded us, in times of crisis intellectuals like other people tend to fall back on feeling and myth.<sup>82</sup> While appraising all aspects of the past, including myths, we must at the same time uphold the critical function that is the basis of all scholarship, indeed, of civilization itself. For this we also need to recognize clearly the sources of irrationality in history, in our culture, in ourselves.

The historian needs courage, for the forest is dark and it is still easy to

<sup>81</sup> Merle Curti, “The Democratic Theme in American Historical Literature,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIX (June, 1952), 26. See also Samuel E. Morison, “The Faith of a Historian,” *American Historical Review*, LVI (January, 1951), 266–67, 270–71.

<sup>82</sup> Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven, 1946), pp. 295–98.

stumble. Courage is needed to uphold the integrity of the truth-seeking process against the attacks it has lately met, whether these have issued, as Bacon suggested, from the arrogance of demagogues or from the imperfections of intellectuals themselves, or whether they are to be laid chiefly at the door of American democratic values and practices. In exercising our functions as scholars we must resist strong pressures and face severe tests, for we do not want to fail our country in a time of great crisis, as the German intellectuals failed theirs. Orwell's *1984* no longer seems the far-fetched fantasy it did when first published. It is not easy publicly to defend the chief value to which historical scholarship, all scholarship, is committed, that is, freedom of thought and expression in its widest scope. It needs defense, and in that defense we can as historians appeal to a tradition that both includes and transcends the American past. This tradition of intellectual freedom has had vitality here not merely because of intelligent leadership but because, when understood, it has also enlisted the support of the American people. The intellectual is only "Man Thinking." And he needs today to keep firmly before him Emerson's words, "March without the people, and you march into the night."

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Interesting  
but end is, as usual, blindly  
happened & one gets impression  
so is just the intellectual's right  
to put them at the frontiers.  
But, knowing his confusions  
in the past, he is against the  
intellectuals, but of course he is  
intellectuals, he must find  
the way.

# The Treason of Sir Roger Casement

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

IN opening the prosecution of Sir Roger David Casement for high treason, the Attorney General, Sir Frederick Smith, declared that the prisoner had been "blinded by a hatred to this country, as malignant in quality as it was sudden in origin."<sup>1</sup> This was in June, 1916. Ten years later, as Lord Birkenhead and ex-Lord Chancellor, he repeated these identical words in print.<sup>2</sup> The charge seems to imply depravity of character, derangement of mind—or both. The crown prosecutor was, of course, anxious that his intended victim should not cheat the gallows on a plea of insanity, and therefore sought, before the verdict had been rendered, to tighten the noose by circulating an indecent diary allegedly written by the accused and recording a series of infamous perversions allegedly committed by him.<sup>3</sup> After Casement's execu-

<sup>1</sup> George H. Knott, ed., *The Trial of Sir Roger Casement* (London, 1917), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Birkenhead, *Famous Trials of History* (London, 1926), p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander M. Sullivan, *The Last Sergeant* (London, 1952), p. 271. Sergeant Sullivan, who came over from Dublin to defend Casement, declares in his recently published memoirs that the Attorney General—for what motive is not stated—did everything he could to get him to read the diary during the trial, and was furious when he refused to do so. Mr. Sullivan states simply that the trial was already a great strain on him (indeed he collapsed in court during his speech for the defense), without having to read "this horrible document." Is it possible that Sir F. E. Smith's motive was to demoralize the defense? Mr. Sullivan leaves the reader with the impression that he considers the diary genuine, though he never actually says so. But his *obiter dicta*, e.g., that "Casement had that touch of megalomania which is associated with mental aberration of a more unpleasant kind"; or, that he was "not completely normal and one of the abnormalities of his type is addiction to unpleasant practices," do not inspire confidence in his psychological acumen. Sullivan, pp. 271, 267. Amusingly enough, the gossip in the London clubs had it that Sir F. E. Smith, fearing lest Casement lose the sergeant's professional services, would not even let Mr. Sullivan know of the existence of the diary. This was exactly the opposite of the truth. E. S. P. Haynes, *A Lawyer's Notebook* (London, 1932), p. 32. The British government has to this day steadfastly refused to clear up the mystery of the diary, refusing even to confirm or to deny the alleged fact of its existence. In this attitude Ramsay MacDonald and Stanley Baldwin were agreed. In view of these circumstances, the explanation advanced by Parmiter in 1936 still seems the most plausible one. He suggested that the diary was one of the Putumayo documents which Casement submitted to the Foreign Office. The original being in Spanish, Casement translated and copied it out in his own handwriting; he mentioned to several friends at that time that part of the evidence he was submitting was such a diary. When, after his death, the Foreign Office returned Casement's papers to a relative, the diary was not among them. See Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, *Roger Casement* (London, 1936), pp. 315-16; William J. Maloney, *The Forged Casement Diaries* (Dublin, 1936), *passim*; Denis Gwynn, *Traitor or Patriot* (New York 1931), p. 19; Henry W. Nevins, *Last Chances, Last Chances* (London, 1928), p. 115. T. E. Lawrence was also refused information on the subject. *Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, ed. David Garnett (New York, 1939), p. 863. Such a prohibition, besides making it impossible to ascertain the truth, facilitates such foolish comment as in Blanche Patch, *Thirty Years with G. B. S.* (London, 1951), pp. 100-103. Miss Patch is willing and eager to accept the allegation of Casement's perversion, in order to emphasize thereby Shaw's broadmindedness in matters of sexual irregularity. Even worse than this, the well-known London solicitor, Mr. E. S. P. Haynes, explains Casement's self-possession during his trial as due to an alleged insensitivity to death, which is in turn regarded as the result of syphilis. Haynes, p. 32. Cf. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, *Crowded Hours* (New York, 1933), p. 266; *The Times*, Aug. 4, 1916; Nevins, pp. 115-16.

tion, some—like Sir Basil Thomson, then head of Scotland Yard (and some years later himself to be apprehended by the police in Hyde Park on a morals charge)—connected the two theories and suggested that the unprintable diary, of which Sir Basil claimed to have been the finder, showed that “some mental disintegration” must have set in.<sup>4</sup> Nearly twenty years later—“let the lie have time on its own wings to fly”—the second earl of Birkenhead, in composing his hagiographical tribute to his father’s memory, was puzzled that no one had taken Sir Roger for a pervert merely by looking at him.<sup>5</sup>

The Prime Minister, however—fearful of the effect of the execution upon public opinion in America<sup>6</sup>—was, it is said, anxious to have Casement reprieved on grounds of insanity but could find no competent alienist to certify him.<sup>7</sup> Others say that Mr. Asquith was unable to overcome the vindictive desire for revenge on the part of some of his Covenanting colleagues in the coalition cabinet.<sup>8</sup>

Not only the enemies, however, of Sir Roger but also his friends believed that his mind might have become affected by his long residence and arduous labors in the tropics. In the petition for clemency addressed to the Prime Minister, they called attention to “the violent change” which appeared to have taken place in his attitude toward Great Britain, and, “without going so far as to urge complete mental irresponsibility,” they begged that allowance be made for “an abnormal mental and physical state.”<sup>9</sup>

During the nearly forty years which have elapsed since Casement’s death, three competent books<sup>10</sup> and a number of articles have vindicated his char-

<sup>4</sup> Sir Basil Thomson, *Queer People* (London, 1922), p. 92; Maloney, p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> Earl of Birkenhead, *Frederick Edwin, Earl of Birkenhead*, 2 vols. (London, 1935), II, 63. The son of Lord Reading, the judge who sentenced Casement, paid a similar tribute to his own father. He remarks patronizingly of Sir Roger that he had had “a not undistinguished career in the Consular Service” (!). Marquess of Reading, *Rufus Isaacs, First Marquess of Reading*, 2 vols. (London, 1945), II, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Cecil Spring Rice to Sir Edward Grey, May 30, 1916, *Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, ed. Stephen Gwynn, 2 vols. (London, 1929), II, 331, 335–36. The Hearst Press, for example, had indulged its Anglophobia by championing the cause of Sir Roger. *Non tali auxilio*. Mrs. Fremont Older, *William Randolph Hearst, American* (London, 1936), p. 385.

<sup>7</sup> John A. Spender and Cyril Asquith, *Life of Herbert Henry Asquith, Lord Oxford and Asquith*, 2 vols. (London, 1932), II, 214; cf. Nevinson, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> Denis Gwynn, p. 430.

<sup>9</sup> Knott, p. 298. The signatures to this petition, though they were indeed collected by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, were almost entirely English, and included Arnold Bennett, Hall Caine, G. K. Chesterton, Sir Francis Darwin, John Drinkwater, Sir James Frazer, John Galsworthy, G. P. Gooch, John Masefield, H. W. Massingham (of the *Nation*), C. P. Scott (of the *Manchester Guardian*), Ben Tillett, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, the bishop of Winchester, and Israel Zangwill. Bernard Shaw refused to sign since he did not, like the others, admit the fact of Casement’s moral guilt. G. B. Shaw, *A Discarded Defence of Casement*, privately printed by Clement K. Shorter (1922). Louis McQuilland, once secretary to John Redmond, suggested that Casement’s mind might have been affected by what he had seen on the Putumayo. Louis G. Redmond-Howard, *Sir Roger Casement* (Dublin, 1916), p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Denis Gwynn, *Traitor or Patriot* (1931); Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, *Sir Roger Casement* (1936); William J. Maloney, *The Forged Casement Diaries* (1936). Yeats’s ballad on Sir Roger Casement was inspired by his reading of this last book. William Butler Yeats, *Letters on Poetry*

acter and established his sanity. For it is now clear that the attachment to Ireland which was to lead him to a felon's death was not, as Lord Birkenhead implied, a sudden unaccountable infatuation but rather the mainspring of his whole life, and that his years on the Congo and the Amazon did but deepen and intensify the early love he bore for Ireland.

It is the purpose of this essay to show, from hitherto unpublished papers, that other motives also, besides this love for Ireland, impelled him on the course which was to lead to self-destruction. For ten years—from 1904 to 1914—Sir Roger carried on a regular correspondence with his dear friend and fellow-champion of oppressed peoples, Edmund Dene Morel. These letters have lately been transplanted from Dartington Hall to the London School of Economics, from the peace of “silly” Devonshire to the roar of Kingsway; so that there, in the basement of the London School, deciphering the fading pages, one may most improbably hear again the accent of that “haunting voice—low, earnest and impassioned,” and the authentic Antrim speech of him whose bones lie next those of the murderer, Dr. Crippen, in Pentonville Gaol.<sup>11</sup>

It is well known how Casement's Congo Report of 1904,<sup>12</sup> with its calm and detailed exposure of the iniquities of Belgian rule, became the basis for Morel's heroic and almost single-handed attack on King Leopold's regime.<sup>13</sup> Together, in the Slieve Donard Hotel at Newcastle, County Down, they had conceived in 1904 the project of the Congo Reform Association, which in less than ten years had so triumphantly routed the powerful coalition of diplomats, clerics, and financiers arrayed against them. Together they had worked to abolish what Casement termed “the devilish theory and hellish practice of Belgian administration in Central Africa.”<sup>14</sup> The closest friendship had thus arisen between the English “Bulldog” and the Irish “Tiger.” “Bulldog alanna,” or “my dear old unmuzzled Bulldog,” Casement, writing

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from *W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley* (London, 1940), p. 117. See also, Patrick S. O'Hegarty, *A Bibliography of Roger Casement* (Dublin, 1949), and James Carty, *Bibliography of Irish History, 1870-1921*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1936-40).

<sup>11</sup> Padraic Colum, *The Road Round Ireland* (New York, 1926), p. 129. Out in the Amazon, in July, 1910, Casement noted in his diary the capture of Crippen, little realizing that one day the two of them would lie side by side in a common prison grave. Maloney, p. 268.

<sup>12</sup> Cd. 1933 (1904), “Correspondence and Report from His Majesty's Consul at Boma respecting the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo,” printed in House of Commons, *Sessional Papers, 1904*, LXII. Stephen Gwynn wrote that Casement's statement of a case was moderate in tone, yet charged with passion. Stephen Gwynn, *Experiences of a Literary Man* (London, 1927), p. 258.

<sup>13</sup> See F. Seymour Cocks, *E. D. Morel* (London, 1920); and Edmund D. Morel, *Red Rubber* (London, 1906).

<sup>14</sup> Casement to Morel, Rio de Janeiro, Nov. 30, 1909. Hereafter, citations to the manuscripts in the possession of the London School of Economics are indicated by place and date where possible, or by date alone. They are letters from Casement to Morel unless otherwise indicated.

from Rio, would salute his friend; or, "dear true, soft-hearted old stern-faced Bulldog."<sup>15</sup> "I live by peace," he would joke, "and you who are a man of strife and battle-axes cannot comprehend my predilection, and have misnamed me tigerish."<sup>16</sup> But in a more serious mood, he would remind Morel that nothing had happened on the Congo "till your gaunt grim friend the Tiger appeared on the scene." The government had given him "a post that had been reduced to a nullity," and "did not know any more than that damned old scoundrel [King Leopold] that they had let loose a Congo tiger who knew of old his hunting ground & when to sniff his prey."<sup>17</sup> To anyone who recalls Joseph Conrad's description of Casement starting off "into an unspeakable wilderness swinging a crook-handled stick for all weapons," accompanied only by two bulldogs and a boy, but returning a few months later, "a little leaner, a little browner, with his stick, dogs, and Loanda boy, and quietly serene as though he had been for a stroll in a park"<sup>18</sup>—to such a one, Casement's boast will seem well justified.<sup>19</sup>

What is not so well known is Sir Roger's overmastering indignation at what he felt were the evasions and procrastinations of the Foreign Office, its desire to move circumspectly through the maze of diplomacy, when day by day, and week by week, his beloved and helpless Africans were still being flogged, mutilated, or put to death. At least he was consoled to know himself a thorn in the government's flesh. "They are sincerely sorry I was born," he chuckled in 1903, and it doubtless comforted him to know that even if "that beast Leopold . . . the King of Beasts and his pimps"<sup>20</sup> were poisoning world

<sup>15</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 15, 1909.

<sup>16</sup> June 26, 1912.

<sup>17</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Conrad to R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, Dec. 26, 1903, G. Jean Aubry, *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters*, 2 vols. (London 1927), I, 325. Possibly the best single description of Casement is that of the explorer, Herbert Ward, who knew him on the Congo. "Imagine a tall and handsome man, of fine bearing; thin, mere muscle and bone, a sun-tanned face, blue eyes and curly black hair. A pure Irishman he is, with a captivating voice and a singular charm of manner. A man of distinction and great refinement, high-minded and courteous, impulsive and poetical. Quixotic perhaps some would say, and with a certain truth, for few men have shown themselves so regardless of personal advancement." Herbert Ward, *A Voice from the Congo* (New York, 1910), p. 233.

<sup>19</sup> Perhaps this is the place to note Casement's horror of publicity. He would like to meet Mark Twain, he said in 1903, despite his regret that Twain had mentioned him in one of his books. Sept. 5, 1904. "I am a man of strong prejudices," he warned Morel in 1911, "and one of them is an innate dislike to personal appearance of any sort—I hate functions, dinners, and gatherings of any kind whatever." He begged the Bulldog, never, in any of his speeches on the Congo, to mention him by name, and warned him that he would be "deeply pained" if he did. May 26, 1911. Nevertheless, a year later we find him expostulating to his friend for having praised him in the *Daily News*. To read this had made him "furiously angry." Only lately he had forced the Intelligence Bureau to apologize for putting his photograph in the paper, and now Morel had done just that. So he proceeded to read his friend a lecture. "I object very strongly to publicity & the idea of one's photo in the papers is nauseous [to] me. It gave me much pain," he declared—but he would overlook the matter since Morel's only object had been to help the Putumayo Fund. June 24, 1912.

<sup>20</sup> 53, Chester Square, London, Sept. 8, 1904, Mar. 15, 22, 1905.



opinion against him, he had one fearless champion in America—a man whose name outweighed the power of a host of rubber barons: Mark Twain. But when a whole year had gone by, and still no action had been taken against the “Congo cads” and “Congo cannibals,” he exploded to the Bulldog:

It is the dirty, cowardly, knock-kneed game the Foreign Office have played that puts me out of action. They *know* the truth, and yet deliberately, for the sake of paltry ease, prepare to throw over an honest & fearless official they deliberately thrust forward last year when it suited their book. They are not worth serving, and what sickens me is that I must go back to them, hat in hand, despising them as I do, simply to be able to live.<sup>21</sup>

He thought of going out to join his brother, Tom, in South Africa.

If I can earn my bread out there I shall do it with a happy heart to be out of the whole miserable Govt. service. I have an overmastering contempt for them.<sup>22</sup>

But his poverty prevented him. “If I could only see my way to earning £150 a year,” he told Morel,

I’d shake the dust of Govt. office off my feet for ever—but alack! I see no way of earning £50 a year. I cannot go around to people begging hat in hand for a job—or if I did, the very fact that I was a begging pauper wd. turn them against me or induce them to exploit me. . . . All men are snobs—they worship assurance and position—& take you at your own value of yourself—& as soon as it is known that I have left the F.O. and am seeking a billet, I should find my “friends” looking askance at me.<sup>23</sup>

The more he reflected, the more indignant he became.

The F.O. have certainly not played the game—for they have lifted no finger to indicate that they trusted me. . . . That is what I resent. It is so cowardly and mean. They shove me into the forefront, bitterly against my will—promising too that they wd. do the needful to stick up for me—and then they slink off and leave me exposed to vulgar abuse and openly expressed contempt. . . . no finger has been lifted to back me up—no breath of half a voice to affirm their knowledge of my good faith and worth—not a syllable—only an ostentatious washing of their hands of as much responsibility for my report as they could wash off. . . . they have practically handed me over defenceless, their own Consul, their own agent—their own mouthpiece, to be the butt of the very men they publicly accused. It is a dirty mean trick—and I have an overmastering contempt for them—and yet I shall be compelled to swallow my scorn and creep back to serve such effigies of men! Perhaps it is good for me to be rebuffed like this and brought low—& it may be I shall be all the better for it. . . . It is not Lord L. [Lansdowne] I blame—I think he is all right—but the permanent gang.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ballycastle, County Antrim, Feb. 2, 1905. The phrases “Congo cads” and “Congo cannibals” occur in letters of Sept. 27, 1905 and Sept. 14, 1909. Cf. Feb. 17, 1905. “This d—d Govt. is incapable of any decent action—look at their treatment of Sir Anthony MacDonell.”

<sup>22</sup> Ballycastle, Feb. 27, 1905. His brother, Tom, was also a champion of the oppressed, and fought to abolish Chinese labor in the Rand. Redmond-Howard, p. 9. Still later, Tom Casement acted as intermediary between General Smuts and de Valera, and made possible the former’s visit to Dublin in 1921. J. C. Smuts, *Jan Christian Smuts* (New York, 1952), p. 225.

<sup>23</sup> Ballycastle, Mar. 15, 1905.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

But it was not of himself alone that he was thinking. Unlike Wilberforce, who had been moved by the thought of Negro suffering which he had never seen, Sir Roger Casement had had stamped upon his mind an ineffaceable image of the horrors he had witnessed, and saw before him still the simple loyal Africans who trusted him to plead their cause. The letters "B.B." (a common newspaper abbreviation at the time), he thought, should stand, not for "braves Belges" but for "bashi-bazouks." Passionately he declared that Britain had made her promises

not to Christian men and women, well-to-do, well-fed, well-governed, well honored and God-fearing but—to the poor, the naked, the fugitive, the hunted, the tortured, the dying men and women of the Congo. Is the crack of the slavedriver's whip on the Congo [he asked] to mean not merely that the poor naked forest man must flee to the savage beasts for protection, but that the Statesmen of England must come to heel? [Must England also bow to the] blood-stained rubber scourge? <sup>25</sup>

The Prime Minister—"that miserable being, Balfour," "that distinguished shifter"—was the special object of his contempt. "That cur is incapable of any honest or straightforward act of human sympathy—and Percy, as Under Sec. for F. Affairs is another of the same type." "What a swinish lot of pigs are these, dear Bulldog," he would fulminate.<sup>26</sup> And his final verdict on the Conservative government was: "Until we have the Augean stable of this ten years of plundering, dishonest Unionism swept away, it is hopeless to expect *any* strong action against any wrong."<sup>27</sup> He included "The Thunderer" in his animadversions. "The *Times* is such a queer organ, so eminently English in the worst sense of the word, that I never trust it an inch."<sup>28</sup> Its favorite sport, he declared, was "ratting."<sup>29</sup> While of another Tory journal he wrote: "Personally I loathe the *Spectator*—its unctuous Britannic pomp is to me as bad as a dose of medicine."<sup>30</sup>

The Liberals, however, were equally bad. They "have always been a curse to Ireland," he reminded Morel, "second only to the influence of Dillon & his priestly gang."<sup>31</sup>

The Rosebery Gang (in which are Grey & Asquith) will go pretty well as far as Chamberlain in their pandering to the moneybags and hoarse yellings of the jingo merchants. Mrs. Green is entirely right. England sacrificed her *moral* position in the Councils of the World when she strangled those two little free states in South Africa.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1909.

<sup>26</sup> Denham, Bucks, April 12, 27, Sept. 4, 19, 1905. Percy he called "one of a class I abhor." Apr. 25 and Sept. 4, 1905.

<sup>27</sup> Sept. 8, 1905.

<sup>28</sup> Apr. 27, 1905.

<sup>29</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Jan. 30, 1910.

<sup>30</sup> Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1909.

<sup>31</sup> Rio de Janeiro, June 29, 1909.

<sup>32</sup> Ballycastle, Mar. 15, 1905. Mrs. Green was, of course, Alice Stopford Green (1848–1929), the widow of the historian, John Richard Green.

Yet even this cynicism was not proof against his joy over the Liberal landslide in the 1906 election. Observing it from Ireland, he told Morel: "I know that there was some secret influence at work (Tory) to injure me—but the incoming of such a wave of democracy will sweep all that gang of muddlers into their proper place."<sup>33</sup> It was not long, however, as he contemplated the Lords, before he came to his right mind. "What a useless lot they are—sheer loafers—and here is this so-called Liberal Govt. making more of them."<sup>34</sup>

By 1907 he realized that "British policy always remains British policy," no matter who might be in power. Parties bore labels only "to hoodwink the electors." "These political labels have no significance—they are all playing the same game—self-interest—& until a real Socialist upheaval comes to sweep the whole [building?] away nothing will really be changed."<sup>35</sup> For the Liberals took no more action against Leopold than the Conservatives. Sir Roger complained that he had been "humiliated, insulted and deserted." It was now Lansdowne who was talking big—from the Opposition bench. "They make me sick these paltry English statesmen with their opportunist souls and grocers' minds."<sup>36</sup> Herbert Samuel was "a dunderhead ass."<sup>37</sup> The Liberal ministers, he wrote in 1909, were "the most nerveless diplomats in Christendom."<sup>38</sup> He had by this time given up all hope of the Foreign Office: "I feel pretty sure that Grey has been a traitor all along," he told Morel. Therefore "the F.O. must be fought since G. is a recreant. . . . the F.O. are no longer to be coaxed but to be hit."<sup>39</sup> By this time he had largely forgotten his old indignation against Mr. Balfour—"dear Arthur" was his mild affectionate term for him.<sup>40</sup>

Sir Edward Grey was now his *bête noire*. He was no more a liberal than Walter Long.<sup>41</sup> By contrast with him even his predecessor had been a man. "I don't think there is very much real, sincere, humane feeling [in him] at all," he told Morel in 1907. "Lord Lansdowne, I think, has personally more of the fire of the man in him than Grey—who strikes me as cold, and a liberal by training and hereditary teaching, rather than a liberal by feeling and love of his fellow men. But I may wrong him,"<sup>42</sup> he added speculatively. The Denshawai Affair in Egypt convinced him that he had not.<sup>43</sup> "My dear Morel," he wrote,

<sup>33</sup> Ballycastle, Jan. 24, 1906.

<sup>34</sup> July, 1906.

<sup>35</sup> Ballycastle, Aug. 1, 10, 1907.

<sup>36</sup> July 4, 1906.

<sup>37</sup> May 8, 1905.

<sup>38</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Aug. 16, 1909.

<sup>39</sup> Rio de Janeiro, June 29 and Sept. 14, 1909.

<sup>40</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 25, 1909.

<sup>41</sup> Santos, Aug. 10, 1907.

<sup>42</sup> Ballycastle, Oct. 16, 1907 (Letter Book II). Casement's opinions about English politicians have been known, of course, since the publication of his diaries in Germany in 1922 ("that contemptible cad Curzon," "that bumptious ass Winston," "these seadog swankers," etc.), but these diatribes are all subsequent to the declaration of war in 1914. His letters to Morel reveal for how many years, and while still in His Majesty's service, he had harbored such opinions.

<sup>43</sup> Rio de Janeiro, June 23, 1909. "Sir Edward Grey is not a Liberal in any real meaning of

the Denshawai murderings and floggings could have been stopped by any great man. Do you think for one moment that a really great liberal statesman would have allowed those barbarous outrages? No great man is ever afraid: it is there you are a great man. You don't fear, when you see straight & believe strongly and know in your heart and soul that the thing is right. You are not afraid—afraid of *Nothing!* and that is a very great quality my dear Morel—a quality I saw from the very first you possessed and that made me love you. I have something of it too, but not to the same extent as you—and I could tell you the reasons only they concern me only—but I thoroughly comprehend the possession of that quality and its uses.<sup>44</sup>

Sir Roger's generous tribute to his friend did less than justice to himself;<sup>45</sup> for the same high-minded fearlessness which was to lead him to the gallows was to lead his friend, no less brave but rather more fortunate, only to a prison cell. So great was the Tiger's admiration for the Bulldog that it even led him to identify this figure of sturdy British courage with the prime symbol of the Irish people, treasured through fifteen centuries.

It has been the most wonderful fight in the world I think this of yours, since that day when, in the Slieve Donard Hotel, *close* to where St. Patrick landed in Ireland to begin *his* wonderful mission of turning the hearts of a proud pagan people to the mildness of Christianity, you accepted your mission of turning the heart and hand of the biggest pagan in Christendom out of his misused kingdom—snakes!—and you've done it—even as Patrick turned the snakes out of Erin.<sup>46</sup>

Following the publication of his Congo Report, there ensued for Casement a year and a half of inactivity, which he spent chiefly at home in Ireland and during which he learned Gaelic.<sup>47</sup> Then he held several consular posts in Brazil—first at Santos, then at Para, and finally at Rio de Janeiro as consul general in 1908. He was at Rio when the first ugly stories about

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the word," he wrote Morel from Rio in 1909. "Can you imagine a *real* Liberal carrying out the Denshawai massacre—'executions' they called it—three years ago, when the pigeon shooting officers were avenged of a whole rural population by widespread *public* floggings and hangings. Can liberalism be one thing in England and another in Egypt? It evidently can. Sir E. Grey is the master of Egypt—of that there is no question. His will on a question of moment would be supreme. That was a question of moment—one involving, if Englishmen could only see it, their very soul—their fame and boasted sense of justice—yet in order to 'strike terror' (that is the phrase they play as a trump card) this Liberal Lord of England sanctions public floggings and hangings—one in sight of the other, and all in sight of the relatives of the flogged and hanged, who were driven by military force to the human shambles—in the land he was responsible for." These words were written by His Majesty's consul general at Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>44</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909. "Congo Hannibal" was another of Casement's nicknames for Morel. Like Sigmund Freud, but without his Semitic origin to explain it, Casement had always a curious attachment for Hannibal. "He is, to me, the noblest figure of human history." Rome won "only because his City was a recreant city, and Carthage unworthy of her mighty son." Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 14, 1909.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. John Butler Yeats: "Sir Roger is an enthusiast—his charm is that he never sees facts as they are. . . . He is afraid of no one, and is the soul of honour." *J. B. Yeats Letters to His Son, W. B. Yeats, and Others*, ed. Joseph Hone (London, 1944), p. 195.

<sup>46</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 15, 1909.

<sup>47</sup> It is not true, as Lord Birkenhead asserted, that Casement's "usual abode was in England." Birkenhead, *Famous Trials*, p. 261.

atrocities in the Peruvian rubber fields began to circulate. The rubber boom was then at its height, and fabulous profits were being made. Since the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company was registered in London and employed some British subjects, the British government thought fit to investigate, and at once, on the strength of the great reputation made by his Congo Report, called on Roger Casement to go out to Peru along with the commission of inquiry appointed by the company.<sup>48</sup> And so in 1910, Casement found himself again in tropical jungles—this time on the Putumayo—racked with fever and steeped in horrors. It was the nightmare story of the Congo over again: tortures, floggings, crucifixions, decapitations, burnings alive—the crudities equally with the refinements of cruelty, that cruelty which, no less than love, is needful to the heart of man. Despite great personal suffering, Casement was a quick and thorough investigator. His report was presented to the British government early in 1911. As a reward, he was knighted by the king in June of that year.

Much was made, at the treason trial five years later, of Sir Roger's acceptance of this honor as involving his complete loyalty to the crown. The Attorney General read in court Casement's letter to the king, and declared that it was written "in terms of gratitude, a little unusual, perhaps, in their warmth, and in the language almost of a courtier."<sup>49</sup> It is clear now that this insinuation was unwarranted. No doubt such public recognition for his years of labor, with the cancellation of manifold calumny which it implied, was deeply grateful to Sir Roger; but as he then wrote his good friend, Mrs. Green, at the very moment of receiving such an honor, he felt guilty as an Irishman and was sensitive to the fact that many of his friends in Ireland might regard him as a traitor.<sup>50</sup> The determining motive, it appears, was his fear lest the Putumayo inquiry should drag on as long as that of the Congo had done. As Parmiter points out, had he refused the honor, it would have entailed the resignation of his diplomatic post and the end of his usefulness to the Indians of Peru. As it was, his knighthood emphasized before the world the determination of Great Britain to right their wrongs. So he returned to Peru almost at once and produced such further damning evidence of crime, and of crimi-

<sup>48</sup> Cd. 6266 (1912), "Correspondence respecting the Treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo District," printed in House of Lords, *Sessional Papers, 1912-13*, XXIX.

<sup>49</sup> Knott, p. 9. One British official makes the extraordinary and unsupported statement that Casement always denied having written this letter to the king, and claimed it was a forgery. Hugh Cleland Hoy, *40 O. B.; or, How the War Was Won* (London, 1932), p. 140. Mr. Hoy was private secretary to the director of British Naval Intelligence during the war. His statement is curious in view of the fact that Casement never made any such denial during his trial.

<sup>50</sup> Parmiter, p. 85. When, in 1905, he had received the C.M.G. for his work in the Congo, he refused to be invested with it by the king (as indeed he still did now) and never opened the parcel which contained the insignia. The parcel remains intact today. Parmiter, p. 46.

nal delay in justice, that the British government, after consultation with the United States, published the whole as a Blue Book.<sup>51</sup> The shock to world opinion was such that within a year the Peruvian Amazon Company had ceased to exist. Thus the evil which on the Congo took almost twelve years of incessant agitation to abolish,<sup>52</sup> was ended on the Putumayo in less than three—and this chiefly through the labors of one man.

He had purchased his knighthood at the cost of health. Once athletic, now he was racked with lumbago and arthritis. Malaria and dysentery had ruined his constitution. In the tropics he had contracted painful skin diseases. While on the Putumayo he got eczema so badly between the toes of both feet that he could scarcely walk. He had also developed eye infections, while his legs, hands, and wrists were covered with large bites.<sup>53</sup> A connoisseur of fevers, he thought he preferred “the mild Brazilian kind” to “the fierce African” variety.<sup>54</sup> At forty-five, he was half an invalid, prematurely aged, and fast going grey. In October, 1912, he reported to Morel from the Gresham Hotel in Dublin, that he could hardly walk upstairs, and felt “quare & old indeed and terrible failed.”<sup>55</sup> In the mists and rain of an Irish winter, he now longed for the southern sun; and so, in December, 1912, he decided to visit his brother, Tom, in South Africa. Aboard the *Grantully Castle*, en route to Cape Town, he recovered a little: at least he was not in such “almost constant pain” as he had been. But he knew he could expect no real improvement. “Arthritis,” he wrote, “is a subtle enemy & lies low at all times—but I fear it is in me to stay.” It was ten years since he had been in Africa, thirteen since he had last seen the Cape, “& now I go back an elderly invalid. Ochone! Well,” he consoled himself, “I’ve done my work anyhow . . . & some evils will never again be quite the same.”<sup>56</sup>

He had been spendthrift not only of his health but of his money. After twenty-one years in government service, he was as poor as when he entered, and at his death, left less than £10 behind. Not only to Irish causes but to any who were in need he had contributed. Thus Morel testified that his friend had “supplied the first indispensable funds” for the Congo Reform Association.<sup>57</sup> After his retirement from Africa, he complained of being peniless, and talked gloomily of going to the workhouse. “We are a poor paltry wretched pair of paupers, my dear bulldog.”<sup>58</sup> In 1905, he was reduced to

<sup>51</sup> Cd. 6266 (1912). See note 48 above.

<sup>52</sup> Morel, *Red Rubber*, (4th ed., 1919), p. 223.

<sup>53</sup> May 15, 1908; Maloney, p. 184.

<sup>54</sup> Santos, Nov. 12, 1906.

<sup>55</sup> Gresham Hotel, Dublin, Oct. 8, 1912; cf. Apr. 3, 1905.

<sup>56</sup> SS. *Grantully Castle*, Feb. 18, 1913.

<sup>57</sup> Morel to Casement, Feb. 15, 1904.

<sup>58</sup> May 2, 1905.



selling the few trophies which he had brought back from Africa—for instance, an excellent elephant tusk seven feet long, for which he hoped to get £80.<sup>59</sup> He was considerably in debt—to the Bulldog among others. At this time he was living in cheap rooms in Ballycastle, County Antrim—25 shillings a week and all found; and hoping to avoid the workhouse or the debtor's court. He begged Morel not to let others know of his financial difficulties.<sup>60</sup> In July, 1906, he told him that he had made only £40 in the last nineteen months.<sup>61</sup>

His savings gone, he was unable—despite his unique reputation and knowledge of the Congo—to recoup his expenses through journalism, because his articles would be considered of little value unless signed in his own name; but this the etiquette of the consular service forbade.<sup>62</sup> “I am sick of this demoralizing and useless existence,” he wrote in 1906, after fifteen months of inactivity, while still awaiting a new assignment. “This long spell of idleness is killing soul and body.”<sup>63</sup> He was now even willing, as not heretofore, to face the Congo horrors a second time.

When eventually posted to Santos at £600 per annum, the extremely high cost of living in Brazil took most of his salary. Yet he paid off his debts and sent money home to Ireland.<sup>64</sup> As consul general at Rio, his salary was raised to £1200; but in accepting a post on the Putumayo Commission, he took an annual cut of £400; and in addition spent several hundreds of his own to further the cause of the Indians.<sup>65</sup> So that it may be fairly said, whatever honors he had won were dearly purchased.

But where the world saw a distinguished British public servant, Casement had gradually come to feel himself more and more a stranger from England and from Englishmen, more and more Irish of the Irish. “Up in those lonely Congo forests,” he wrote Mrs. Green from Brazil, “where I found Leopold I also found myself—the incorrigible Irishman.”<sup>66</sup> He had made the Congo investigation, he noted in his diary, with a flash of premonition “in the garb of a British official, but with the soul of an Irish felon.”<sup>67</sup> And to Morel he declared in 1909: “It is not British honour appeals to me

<sup>59</sup> Aug. 20 (?), 1905.

<sup>60</sup> July 4, 1906.

<sup>61</sup> July 16, 1906.

<sup>62</sup> July 16, 1906.

<sup>63</sup> Mar. 7, 1906; July (?), 1906.

<sup>64</sup> Oct. 12, 1906; Jan. 4, 1907; July 27, 1912.

<sup>65</sup> July 27, 1912.

<sup>66</sup> Casement to Mrs. Green, Santos, Apr. 20, 1906, *Parmiter*, p. 8n.; cf. Casement to his cousin, Oct. 9, 1906: “Send me news of Congo and Ireland; nothing else counts. Ireland first and for ever, and poor old Congo too, for the sake of the dark skins and all they have suffered.” *Ibid.*, p. 54. The Irish question, he told Morel later, for him transcended in importance even that of African slavery. Apr. 22, 1911. In a letter to *The Times* (Oct. 31, 1913), Casement wrote that whatever good he had done in Africa or South America was due to the knowledge of oppression he had derived from his study of Irish history. Redmond-Howard, pp. 21–22. In 1914, he urged publicly that Ireland be represented as a separate nation at the next Olympic Games, due to be held in Berlin in 1916. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>67</sup> Sir Roger Casement, *Diaries*, ed. Charles E. Curry (Munich, 1922), p. 23.

so much as the Congo men and women. British honour, so far as I am concerned, disappeared from our horizon on Ireland more than a century ago—and I am chiefly concerned in endeavouring to recover our own Irish honour.”<sup>68</sup> In August, 1911, two weeks before sailing for the Putumayo, he told his friend (truly, as it turned out): “This is my last external effort on behalf of others. Henceforth & for aye, I shall concentrate on Ireland alone—and neither Congo nor Hindu, nor Inca shall lure me aside.”<sup>69</sup>

Into the thickest gloom of Congo or Amazon jungle, he took with him the image of “the enchanted coast” of Antrim, from whose sheer cliffs, wreathed in honeysuckle and wild roses, he had so often beheld “the blue and green-tiled ocean depths,” and the hills of Scotland beyond.<sup>70</sup> In Brazil, a country whose climate and people he detested, his thoughts were always of Ireland. “I sit in futile impotence,” he wrote from Rio, “in a land I loathe, far from men and action and deeds to drive a paltry pen six hours daily over bootlaces, jampots and stationery and other openings for British trade in Brazil.” Coffee was the head and front of the tyranny that bound him; and when not in thrall to the merchants he despised, his time was largely spent in trying to protect himself from the assaults of importunate beach-combers.<sup>71</sup> No wonder that even the spectacular beauty of the capital left him unmoved, or that between him and the dazzling Sugar Loaf there sometimes interposed the image of the low “green slanting shoulder of Slieve Donard.”<sup>72</sup> In his dingy office amid the stifling heat and smells of the Santos water front, he longed for the cool Atlantic winds that sweep the Ulster glens. By the waters of Rio he wept, remembering Erin. In the calm of tropic nights, his inner eye beheld the swift race of northern seas. “Silent, O Moyle, be the roar of thy water.” Moore’s “Song of Fionnuala” was his favorite, and he sang in a rich baritone.<sup>73</sup>

Sadly, O Moyle, to thy winter-wave weeping,  
Fate bids me languish long ages away;  
Yet still in her darkness doth Erin lie sleeping,  
Still doth the pure light its dawning delay.

<sup>68</sup> Rio de Janeiro, June 29, 1909. Always in Brazil Casement indited his official correspondence on notepaper headed: “Consulate of Great Britain and Ireland,” despite his having been previously rebuked for this unorthodoxy while consul at Lourenço Marques. He likewise made it a point to use paper of Irish manufacture.

<sup>69</sup> Aug. 4, 1911; and hearing that Morel was writing a history of the Congo Reform Association, he said that if he could write, it should not be of Amazon or Congo, “but of a little island in the North Atlantic and of an outcast race and of a wronged civilization.” Denham, Bucks, June 13, 1912.

<sup>70</sup> Ballycastle, June 24, 1906.

<sup>71</sup> Rio de Janeiro, June 29, 1909; Santos, Apr. 2, 1907.

<sup>72</sup> Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1909.

<sup>73</sup> Parmiter, p. 3. The Moyle is an ancient poetic name for the swift tidal current which separates Rathlin Island from the coast of Antrim.

May he not, in thus recalling the haunting story of Lir's snowy daughter, sometimes have mused that he like her was fated from Ireland to "languish long ages away"? Yet not even fever-bred fancies in Brazil could reveal the full tragic parallelism of their fates: that he too should one day find, after poignant and bitter exile, in the first glad contact with Irish soil, the touch of sudden death.

Whatever he could save from his small official salary, he sent home to Irish causes and Irish charities, to St. Enda's or the Gaelic League.

The tragedy of that dear old country is a far deeper and more dreadful one my dear E.D.M. than the dreadful tale of Leopoldism on the Congo. The Congo will revive and flourish—the black millions again overflow the land—untouched, untainted—but who shall restore the destroyed Irish race—the dead Irish tongue—the murdered Irish music—the wealth of gentle nature, lovable mind, high temper and brave generous heart which made of the Irish people a race we shall not see the like of again. And now where?—only an insulted remnant, almost incapable of action and with all the life drained out of them.<sup>74</sup>

On his return to his native land in 1911, his belief in Irish Home Rule was greatly strengthened by his disgust with Unionist tactics in his own province of Ulster. On the famous 28th of September, 1912, the day of the signing of the Covenant, he saw the monster parades and processions in Belfast, and heard the Orange drum beaten through the streets all day. Did its insidious rhythm, with its mounting emotional tension, remind him of the lurking terrors of the jungle he had once faced? "I saw the Ulster Circus on 28th September in Belfast," he wrote to Morel from Dublin in October. "F. E. Smith & 'Lord' Charles Beresford were the best of the clowns altho' Carson as Pantaloon & Harlequin ran them close. The amount of solid lying that gang got through in a fortnight would have fed up the Belgians even in their best day."<sup>75</sup> Mercifully he could not foresee that for one of the "clowns" the way of rebellion was to lead to the Woolsack, but for himself, to the gallows.

Ten years after Casement's execution, Lord Birkenhead was still under the delusion that "his interest in his native country was of recent origin," and that there was nothing in his career to explain his turning to Germany in 1914.<sup>76</sup> But so ardent a worshipper as the noble lord at the shrine of worldly success, could hardly be expected to concern himself with the motives of a felon. It is, in fact, doubtful whether the future Lord Chancellor, for all his forensic brilliance, was able to discern in his victim the lineaments of a gallant gentleman. Perhaps the two might not even have agreed upon what

<sup>74</sup> Santos, May 15, 1908.

<sup>75</sup> Gresham Hotel, Dublin, Oct. 8, 1912.

<sup>76</sup> Birkenhead, *Famous Trials*, p. 258.

constitutes such a one, for Casement's definition was remarkably close to Newman's "one who would not willingly give pain to another." Whatever influence he might have had upon the Congo, wrote Casement to Morel in 1905, had been "due solely to the fact that I was a gentleman with the instincts of one who (I hope) prefers to suffer a wrong rather than inflict one."<sup>77</sup> Nor would he have caviled at the rueful self-depreciation of his friend, John Butler Yeats, great father of a greater son—"a gentleman is one who doesn't know how to succeed in life"—since as he had himself written the *Bulldog* years before: "Neither you nor I could 'get on' in the world."<sup>78</sup>

It is a principle of human nature to love the enemies of our enemies. To the question of Germany, therefore, we turn at length. Casement had looked upon the Entente and its influence in Africa with but a jaundiced eye.

You are right about the Entente Cordiale being to blame—it is to blame for more than that *cher ami*. The Entente is not a cordial one to begin with—but a very selfish one. Personally [I think] they put their money on the wrong horse—that's my view. From the intense fear and jealousy of Germany our Cabinet have tried to prevent German expansion on all sides—& the Morocco tomfoolery was one of the most fatal steps taken in that direction. The right policy wd. have been give and take with Germany—not bitter opposition—and seeking means to aid her to some safe outlet for her growing powers and population.<sup>79</sup>

Not content with this harangue, the very next day he unburdened himself further to the sympathetic *Bulldog*.

Instead of trying to arrive at a general friendly arrangement with Germany *on all points*, which would obviously include the Congo, we have gone out of our way now for several years to eliminate Germany from our councils and as far as we could from the councils of others. We have tried to bottle up very new wine indeed in very old diplomatic bottles. . . . Now things have reached so evil a pass that peace between the two great Powers of Europe can hardly be kept. Both are preparing for war and faster than the world suspects—but the fault lies far more with England than with Germany. It has been a wretchedly stupid business—based first on jealousy, trade ill will and greed of Commerce, and now resting largely on fear too. The English have become *afraid* of the Germans.<sup>80</sup>

It was with Germany that England should have made the Entente.

I would have invited Germany into Morocco or anywhere else she wanted to go—to Brazil, for one—where her expansion would not hurt the British Empire. Now

<sup>77</sup> Ballycastle, Mar. 15, 1905.

<sup>78</sup> 1907, n.d. While in Germany Casement refused lucrative offers to exploit his experiences for journalistic purposes. *Diaries*, p. 200. From his political activities he never made a penny; indeed he impoverished himself for the sake of them. And one of the charges against him which hurt most was that he had "sold himself for German gold."

<sup>79</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 14, 1909.

<sup>80</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909. It may be remarked that Morel, on his own account, shared a good many of these views on foreign affairs—especially the distrust of the Entente in Morocco. See his *Morocco in Diplomacy* (London, 1912), and *Truth and the War* (London, 1916), *passim*.

the miserable effort at bottling up Germany has gone so far that it is hard to get back to sober statesmanship.<sup>81</sup>

The more he thought of Germany, the better he liked her. "I like the Germans and believe in them," he wrote in 1909.<sup>82</sup> "Germany should be the first and foremost friend of Gr. Britain in the World—not excepting any—& there is no reason why this should not be attained."<sup>83</sup>

Gradually he began to see Germany as the chief hope of civilization. Revelations about "Yankee Oil Kings" in Mexico had thoroughly disenchanted him with the United States, a country he had already visited twice. At least in England, he reflected, there were bishops and archbishops galore ("go léor," he noted, was the correct Gaelic form) to go after such miscreants. Díaz was nothing but another Leopold. Men like that, he told Morel in 1911, "wd. make Mrs. Green and you and me into slaves and flog and scourge us if they got the upper hand. Where do the people of Mexico come in? . . . They come in with the beans and the cornstalks and the whip, the chain gang and the murderous lash."<sup>84</sup> Nor was he much impressed by Theodore Roosevelt:

It is impudent in the extreme for this man to go around Europe haranguing people on their duties to civilization, when his own country permits one of the most lawless aspects of modern life the whole world affords. Instead of claiming him as an ally of good causes I think he should be pitched into as a miscreant. The more I see of Americans, the less I believe in them.<sup>85</sup>

By the docks of Liverpool, he reflected in 1911:

I don't put any hope in the U.S.A. The New World is not so healthy as the Old. The pulling down of slavery will not come from Uncle Sam. It is the people of Europe—the picked people of Europe who will do it. . . . I don't put *any* hope in the U.S.A. tackling these accursed things in Mexico and Peru—she is content to let them be. The Monroe Doctrine is fast becoming a crime against the human race.<sup>86</sup>

With Britain and America thus outcast from his sympathies, what other power, except Germany, could save civilization? The wrongs of Mexico and Peru expanded in his mind to

<sup>81</sup> Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909.

<sup>82</sup> Rio de Janeiro, July 12, 1909.

<sup>83</sup> ca. 1911.

<sup>84</sup> 1911.

<sup>85</sup> Ballycastle, June 1, 1910.

<sup>86</sup> Liverpool, 1911. He revised his opinions, if not of America, at least of Americans, when he revisited New York in 1914. John Butler Yeats reported him as delighted with "their gaiety, their freedom, their good looks, but above all, their cleanliness." John Butler Yeats to his daughter, Lily Yeats, Aug. 7, 1914, *J. B. Yeats Letters*, p. 187. By an ironic coincidence, it was at this very time that the British ambassador in Washington thought that Casement was acting like a madman. Sir Cecil Spring Rice to Sir Edward Grey, May 30, 1916, *Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, II, 335–36.

the tragedy of a whole continent in the hands of the greedy—the spoliators—the enslavers—the exploiters . . . & the one great solution that could bring the Real Man into the business—viz. the Teuton—ruled out of court—nay never dreamed of as even thinkable because England is governed and obsessed by anti-German antipathies & their outcome—Foreign Office officials.<sup>87</sup>

The word has been spoken at last, and by Sir Roger himself. His hostility to England had in fact become an obsession. First he had attacked British imperialism, then the British government, and finally the whole British people. In Brazil, he remembered the Zulus he had seen in Natal: “One of the finest, noblest, cleanest & most *moral* people on Earth—but they must give place to the knock-kneed loafing swab who calls himself the British Empire & whose chief aim is to rob at least cost to himself.”<sup>88</sup> From Santos he told the faithful Bulldog:

I have no use for your British Govt., your British people, your Anglo-Saxon Conscience or anything else appertaining to that embodied Fraud—John Bull. You are one of the few my dear Bulldog who do not realize the national characteristics—and it is for this I love you. When I think of what J.B. has done in Ireland I literally weep to think I must still serve—instead of fight.<sup>89</sup>

His admiration for Germany was a compensating mental mechanism for his hatred of England. But in the end it, too, became an obsession. It is idle even to discuss his fantasy of a peace-loving, harmless Germany, wishing only to be allowed to enjoy her modest place in the sun. Yet, perhaps, we begin to comprehend the full extent of his aberration from reason only when we, like his good friend John Butler Yeats, overhear him muttering to himself in New York on the news of the German defeat at the Marne: “Poor Kaiser, poor Kaiser”—almost with tears in his voice,” added Yeats.<sup>90</sup> Before his death, Sir Roger was to lose this illusion also. Actual contact during the war with the imperial government deeply and finally disillusioned him. “I feel I cannot trust them,” he wrote after three months’ acquaintance, “& that it is useless to rely upon such stupid—& selfish people.” On February 11, 1915, he ended his diary abruptly “when I became clear that I was being played with, fooled and used by a most selfish & unscrupulous government for its sole petty interests.”<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> 1911.      <sup>88</sup> Lucan, Co. Dublin, Dec. 13, 1907.

<sup>89</sup> Santos, May 15, 1908. How gladly, he declared, would he serve as an Irish consul at only £200 a year instead of the £700 he was getting from Great Britain. “A big section of the Br. [sic] public like to think they have an Anglo-Saxon Deity all their own, like the Jews of Jerusalem.” Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 14, 1908.

<sup>90</sup> J. B. Yeats *Letters*, p. 195 (Sept. 10, 1914).

<sup>91</sup> Casement, *Diaries*, pp. 163, 198. Cf. Princess Blücher’s description of his pitiful state in Berlin in 1915. He seemed to her like one demented, and spoke of killing himself. He broke down and sobbed like a child. “Penniless and starving, friendless and hunted,” he had come to her, as an old friend, seeking comfort. Evelyn, Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin* (New York, 1920), pp. 131, 138.



He also showed at this time distinct signs of a disposition to favor non-Western peoples wherever they were in conflict with the West. This is perhaps the explanation of his curiously ardent championship of the Turks against the Balkan states in 1912—"this hellish war of lust and greed," he termed it. He was revolted by the atrocities of the Montenegrin "Christians" against the Moslems in Albania, but said nothing about those committed in return by Islam upon its enemies. How far, he wondered, was "Christendom . . . called on to champion these beauties in their 'war of liberation'?" When the second Balkan War broke out in 1913, he hoped that Turkey would be able to keep Adrianople. "She has the sole moral claim," he wrote, "to that city of her great kings."<sup>92</sup> Few people in England, and still fewer in Ireland, could have shared these sentiments at this time. After all, the situation was vastly different from that which had faced Disraeli in 1877. For now Russia was Britain's ally, and was, moreover, not directly involved as she had been then.

The true explanation is, no doubt, that as in childhood he had always been compassionate with suffering things—with wounded bird or overburdened horse<sup>93</sup>—so now, as an adult he *always* identified himself with the underdog—with Germany against England, with Turk against Christian. This sentimental feeling underlay his championship of African Negroes and American Indians. He was too prone to believe in the myth of "the noble savage," as when on his journey by rail from Montreal to New York, in July, 1914, passing Lake Champlain he reflected on the original settlement of the American continent, and at once found himself sympathizing with the Indians against the white man: "Poor Indians! you had life—your white destroyers possess only things."<sup>94</sup>

The existing lives of Casement do not explore the childhood origins of his passionate self-identification with the sufferings of others, although a clue is perhaps afforded by the casual remark of one biographer that his father was so strict a disciplinarian that he would thrash his children for the least breach of rules, and that Roger as a child had resented this.<sup>95</sup>

So the wheel has come full circle. We began by asserting Sir Roger's sanity. Mr. Asquith could not find a respectable alienist to declare otherwise. Yet Casement had lived for years with a demon that grew by what it fed on, until finally it was to devour him. For when, in 1914, war came at last, Sir

<sup>92</sup> July 26, 1913.

<sup>93</sup> Sir Roger Casement, *Some Poems*, ed. Mrs. Gertrude Perry (Dublin, 1918), p. ix.

<sup>94</sup> Casement, *Diaries*, p. 25. Perhaps the same feeling appears in his sympathy for Carthage against Rome. See note 44 above.

<sup>95</sup> Parmiter, p. 1. But as in many biographies, the father, having fulfilled on page one the duty of begetting the author's subject, then becomes superfluous. Thus it is difficult to determine for Casement what Freud considers may be the most crucial point in a man's life, the exact date of his father's death, though we know that it occurred during his childhood.

Roger at once and cheerfully translated into acts what previously had been no more than thoughts and words. The day he sailed from New York (Oct. 15, 1914), the gallows at Pentonville began to gape, for never was a man more resolute in seeking his own destruction.

The more inevitable his doom, the more superb his courage, and the more serene his faith. About a week before his execution, he wrote his sister from the prison cell describing his sensations on that chill Good Friday morning when, the boat capsized and his clothes wet through, his teeth chattering with cold, he was rolled up by the surf of the Atlantic and thrown on the shores of his native land. It was the coast of Kerry. He knew that he was ruined and that all was lost. The shameful death of a traitor lay inescapably before him.<sup>96</sup>

I was happy for the first time for over a year. Although I knew that this fate waited me, I was for one brief spell happy and smiling once more. . . . The sandhills were full of skylarks, rising in the dawn, the first I had heard for years—the first sound I heard through the surf was their song—and all around were primroses and wild violets and the singing of skylarks in the air, and I was back in Ireland again.<sup>97</sup>

In prison he dreamed at night of childhood days in Antrim but waked to find himself in Brixton Gaol, a few hours away from death.<sup>98</sup> When sentenced by Lord Reading he smiled and kept his self-possession. He believed that Ireland, like Garibaldi's Italy, could be redeemed only by men dying for her.<sup>99</sup> The day after his sentence, the Manchester *Guardian* commented: "He had kept his dignity, his almost incredible detachment, to the last."<sup>100</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Robert Monteith, *Casement's Last Adventure* (Chicago, 1932), p. 131. Just before leaving Germany in the submarine, Casement wrote: "I am sure it is quite the most desperate piece of folly ever committed, but I go gladly. It is only right, and if these poor lads at home are to be in the fire, then my place is with them." Nevinson, p. 102.

<sup>97</sup> Casement to his sister, July 25, 1916, Nevinson, p. 103.

<sup>98</sup> Eva Gore-Booth, in the *Catholic Bulletin and Book Review*, Dublin, 1918.

<sup>99</sup> Colum, *Road Round Ireland*, pp. 129-32.

<sup>100</sup> Manchester *Guardian*, June 30, 1916. Sir Charles Malet condescends to say that "Sir Roger Casement played his part with some dignity." Sir C. Malet, *Life of Lord Cave* (1931), p. 182. English opinion of Casement, thirty-six years after his death, does not seem to have altered much. Thus we learn in a recent life of one of the prosecuting counsel—later Mr. Justice Humphreys—that he detested Casement as "a foul traitor," and was glad to see him hanged. The psychological problem presented by Sir Roger's conduct was neatly solved by Mr. Humphreys' assumption that he was "something of a dual personality." This opinion, we learn, came from one who, after twenty-one years at the bar, "had developed a grave wisdom that was sensitive to the undertones of the dramas in which he was taking part." Lest there be any doubt, the biographer adds his own verdict in 1952—that Casement was "a worthless traitor." Stanley Jackson [pseud.], *The Life and Cases of Mr. Justice Humphreys* (London, 1952), pp. 123, 74, 128. Bernard Shaw's secretary, Blanche Patch, declares that Casement's last speech from the dock was actually written by Shaw. Patch, p. 103. Shaw did write a speech for the occasion, but it was never used. See *A Discarded Defense of Casement* (n. 9, above). For another sidelight—an astonishing one—on Shaw's attitude to Casement at this time, see Mrs. Webb's recently published account of "a painful luncheon party" (May 21, 1916). Beatrice Webb, *Diaries, 1912-24*, ed. Margaret Cole (New York, 1952), pp. 62-63. A final ironic instance of the difference in sensibility between prosecutor and accused was provided in the last act of the

And just before his death, he wrote: "I have felt this destiny on me since I was a little boy; it was inevitable; every thing in my life has led up to it."<sup>101</sup>

Since each one has his demon, and each must live with it, though not all have a symbol by which it may be exalted to the plane of tragedy, there seems little point in calling Casement mad, simply because he was a man obsessed. If all who are obsessed were confined, our streets would look strangely empty; nor would there be wardens enough for the inmates. But what of Casement's treason? May we not answer by saying simply, that if he was a traitor, it was a crime he shared, among others, with George Washington and Thomas Masaryk, though the one paid the forfeit of his failure and the others reaped the reward of their daring.

Treason doth never prosper. What's the reason?  
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it treason.

On one side of the Irish Sea lies the body of a traitor, while, on the other, his spirit is exalted as that of a hero and martyr. "Don't let my bones lie in this dreadful place," he begged from prison,<sup>102</sup> and asked that they should bury him on the cliffs above Fair Head, where from below there rises the thunder of the Moyle, and sea gulls cry in the windy dawn. For this was always home, wherever he might be: the coast of Antrim where each day the sun's first rays, as they coldly greet the basalt promontories, quicken Ireland into light and life. *Sed dis aliter visum*. For Britain has thus far refused the government of Eire what small reversions, after nearly forty years, the prison yard at Pentonville may yield.<sup>103</sup> "The ghost of Roger Casement is beating on the door."

Yet the image of the tall, dark, bearded stranger, his skin deeply bronzed by tropic suns, still haunts the imagination of men. Some have seen in him the perfect Elizabethan, others the pure Spanish hidalgo. A few weeks before his own death, Lawrence of Arabia urged Bernard Shaw to write the life of

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drama. Justice Darling had invited Sir John Lavery to paint the scene in the crowded courtroom while the appeal was being heard—the prisoner between two wardens in the dock, the five judges on the bench, the crowded galleries. Sir Roger was not in the least discommoded to see Lavery sketching away in the jury-box, and gave his sister "a very witty survey of the proceedings." The Attorney General, however, was scandalized, and considered the invitation to have been "in the worst possible taste." One of the last images on earth to stamp itself on the brain of Sir Roger was the beauty of a lady who came each day to court, and the sadness of whose face he was unable to forget. It was Hazel Lavery, sitting near her husband as he worked. Her countenance now appears on the banknotes of Eire. Sir John Lavery, *The Life of a Painter* (Boston, 1940), pp. 196-97.

<sup>101</sup> Casement, *Some Poems*, p. xi.

<sup>102</sup> Parmiter, p. 331.

<sup>103</sup> The question of exhuming Casement's remains was raised once more in the House of Commons by the Nationalist M. P., Mr. Cahir Healy, in 1953. The government's answer was still a negative.

Casement;<sup>104</sup> failing which, he thought of doing it himself. But the continued refusal of the British government to let him inspect the diary blocked his path.<sup>105</sup> In Asia, too, the thought of Casement moved generous hearts to pity and admiration. Thus Pandit Nehru, from his Indian jail, reminded his daughter of Sir Roger's sacrifice, and praised the devotion which had thus "laid bare the passionate patriotism of the Irish soul."<sup>106</sup>

Just after the famine, "the greatest of the Young Irelanders . . . the deepest, most original and most prophetic" among them, had summoned his countrymen to rise in arms.<sup>107</sup> "Who draws first blood for Ireland?" cried Lalor in 1848. "Who wins a wreath that shall be green for ever?"<sup>108</sup> The British government stopped Lalor's mouth abruptly: these were the very last words of the "Irish Felon." Yet in each succeeding generation, some were to heed that call, among them the fifteen shot in Kilmainham, and the felon hanged in Pentonville. For this it was Yeats pleaded

That some amends be made  
To this most gallant gentleman  
That is in quicklime laid.

Whatever immortality lies in the power of language to confer, the noble verse of Yeats has long ago bestowed on Casement and his comrades. On their dishonored dust he laid indeed a wreath that is forever green.

We know their dream; enough  
To know that they dreamed and are dead;  
And what if excess of love  
Bewildered them till they died?  
I write it out in a verse  
MacDonagh and MacBride  
And Connolly and Pearse  
Now and in time to be,  
Wherever green is worn,  
Are changed, changed utterly:  
A terrible beauty is born.

### *University of Washington*

<sup>104</sup> Patch, pp. 100-103.

<sup>105</sup> T. E. Lawrence to John Buchan (Apr. 1, 1935), *Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, p. 863.

<sup>106</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (1934), first American edition (New York, 1942), p. 691.

<sup>107</sup> Standish O'Grady, *The Story of Ireland* (1894), p. 196.

<sup>108</sup> James Fintan Lalor, *The Irish Felon*, July 22, 1848, reprinted in the *Writings of James Fintan Lalor* (Dublin, 1895), p. 113. "He was small and gibbous," says Standish O'Grady, "but his speech was far from contemptible." O'Grady, p. 196.

# The Teapot Dome Scandal and the Election of 1924

J. LEONARD BATES

THE election of 1924 is often remembered as that in which the Democratic party tried to pin the blame for corruption on the Republican administration. The failure of this effort has led some writers to conclude that the American people were simply unconcerned about corruption. Thus a highly esteemed textbook explains the Republican victory: "Toward the spectacle of corruption and maladministration the country was profoundly apathetic. . . ."<sup>1</sup> But a re-examination of the Teapot Dome scandal shows that the issue was not so clear-cut and compelling as these writers have said it was—or should have been. The affair was complex, its political repercussions varied and confusing, principally for this reason: both parties were implicated in the scandals. More than has been thought, major Democratic leaders also could be tainted with materialism, "oilness," or hypocrisy.<sup>2</sup> When they assailed the Republicans, they were themselves exposed to counterattack. Smears, countersmears, and protestations of innocence filled the newspapers. The public was quite naturally confused. There was a third party in the race, Robert M. La Follette's Progressives, which appealed for clean government but which nevertheless had little chance to win. The basic contest was between Democrats and Republicans, neither of whom appeared completely "pure." Hence, as Amos Pinchot, the New York lawyer and Progressive, noted, the voters were confronted with a dilemma; because of the general decline in morality there was no simple alternative of a good party or a bad one.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (4th ed.; New York, 1950), II, 519. A sampling of other textbooks revealed more or less the same interpretation. Perhaps most influential in perpetuating this view has been Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (New York, 1931).

<sup>2</sup> There is no adequate study of the Harding scandals or of "Teapot Dome," the most sensational of them which overshadowed and virtually encompassed all the rest. Among the accounts are John Ise, *The United States Oil Policy* (New Haven, 1928), chaps. xxiii–xxv; M. E. Ravage, *The Story of Teapot Dome* (New York, 1924); Morris R. Werner, *Privileged Characters* (New York, 1935); Thomas J. Walsh, "True History of Teapot Dome," *Forum*, LXXII (July, 1924), 1–12. On the political consequences see especially the following: Mark Sullivan, *Our Times: The Twenties* (New York, 1946), pp. 272–349 and *passim*; William Allen White, *A Puritan in Babylon: The Story of Calvin Coolidge* (New York, 1938), chaps. xxii–xxviii, *passim*; Claude M. Fuess, *Calvin Coolidge* (Boston, 1940), pp. 320, 339–50; Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston, 1954), chap. x.

<sup>3</sup> Amos Pinchot to George Foster Peabody [undated but during 1924 campaign], Pinchot to Gilson Gardner, Nov. 26, 1924, in Pinchot MSS, Library of Congress.

The facts of the Teapot Dome scandal may be quickly reviewed. In late 1923 the Public Lands Committee of the Senate began laboriously accumulating evidence concerning the recent leases of two naval oil reserves located in Wyoming and California. The circumstances were peculiar. Their disposal seemed contrary to a long-established bipartisan policy of conserving this oil for the navy. Inspired chiefly by Robert M. La Follette, the Wisconsin progressive,<sup>4</sup> the Senate investigation was brought to a spectacular conclusion by Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, a Democrat. In the case of both, political considerations were secondary.<sup>5</sup> It was discovered that the Teapot Dome in Wyoming and Elk Hills in California had been leased through a colossal fraud in which President Harding's Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, illegally assumed control of these tracts and secretly granted them to two powerful oil men. Harry Sinclair had obtained Teapot Dome while E. L. Doheny of the Pan-American Oil Company had leased Elk Hills. In their gratitude they paid bribes to Secretary Fall amounting to about \$300,000.

Among the flood of witnesses before the Public Lands Committee were Secretary Fall, Doheny, Sinclair, Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby, Edward McLean, Archie Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Senator Charles Curtis, the President's private secretary C. Bascom Slemp, the wartime publicity chief George Creel, former Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, and former Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo. Many others either sent statements to the committee, succeeded in making the headlines, or for no apparent reason suddenly found themselves involved. One sensation crowded upon another during January and February, the dawn of an election year. Two scenes were memorably dramatic: Doheny's confession of a \$100,000 "loan" and, soon after, Fall's refusal before the committee to give any further testimony. A broken man, he pleaded a fear of self-incrimination.<sup>6</sup>

As they examined the large black headlines of early 1924 the political chieftains were agitated. Jubilantly the Democrats reached for what seemed to be a winning issue. They reveled in it. Senator Thaddeus Caraway of Arkansas compared the infamy of the former Secretary Fall with that of

<sup>4</sup> Thomas J. Walsh to Albert F. Demers, Nov. 28, 1924, in Thomas James Walsh MSS, Library of Congress; Walsh, "True History of Teapot Dome," *Forum*, LXXII, 4.

<sup>5</sup> The author has examined this background at some length in his doctoral thesis, "Senator Walsh of Montana, 1918 to 1924" (unpublished MS. University of North Carolina, 1952), and in an article, "Josephus Daniels and the Naval Oil Reserves," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXXIX (February, 1953), 171-79. See also Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette* (New York, 1953), II, 1041-54.

<sup>6</sup> U. S. Senate, *Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves*, Hearings before the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys Pursuant to S. Res. 282, S. Res. 294, and S. Res. 434, 67 Cong., and S. Res. 147, 68 Cong. (Washington, 1924). *Naval Oil Hearings*, as they will be referred to hereafter, contain pertinent documents as well as testimony relating to the scandal.



Benedict Arnold. Moreover, the crooks were safe, he warned; so long as Harry Daugherty was Attorney General they could even sell the White House.<sup>7</sup> Senator Tom Heflin of Alabama depicted the uprightness of Democratic administrations and by contrast the current squalor under the Republicans. He did admit that occasionally an individual Democrat became fat and greedy—thus qualifying to join the Republican party.<sup>8</sup> Two days after Doheny's confession Cordell Hull, Tennessee congressman and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, issued a statement charging that the Coolidge administration was dominated by a "crowd of ruthless reactionaries" and riddled with fifteen or more scandals:

. . . This [Coolidge] administration came in under the shadow of the Newberry scandal and the Daugherty scandal. Others followed in quick succession, including the bureau of engraving scandal, the Goldstein scandal, the ship subsidy and ship sales scandal, the veterans' bureau scandal, the sugar profiteering scandal, the naval oil reserve scandal (including Teapot Dome), the reclamation service scandal, the income tax bureau scandal, the packers and stockyards scandal, the Tolbert scandal, the Slemple scandal and a long list of others less known, with one now brewing in the tariff commission. . . . There is scarcely a department of the government under this administration that is not discredited by its record, and many bureaus not already scandalized are under suspicion.<sup>9</sup>

This statement formally announced that the Democrats were making corruption their leading issue in the campaign.

Their smug and joyful indignation, however, was to be short-lived. The party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Wilson—like that of Abraham Lincoln—was not at its moral best. Democrats as well as Republicans were damned by Doheny's testimony. The California oil man was himself a Democrat of high standing in his home state. Under the prodding of Senators James Reed of Missouri (an independent Democrat) and Irvin Lenroot (Republican of Wisconsin), Doheny managed to splatter other Democrats with oil. He revealed that since the war he had employed four former members of Woodrow Wilson's cabinet: ex-Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane for \$50,000 a year; ex-Secretary of War Lindley Garrison, ex-Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory, and ex-Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo. In addition, he and an associate had in 1920 paid another Wilson man, George Creel, \$5,000 to use his influence in attempting to pry open the naval reserves, only to be rebuffed by Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels. The former Democratic Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer also figured

<sup>7</sup> *Congressional Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1034-35 (Jan. 16, 1924).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1523 (Jan. 28, 1924).

<sup>9</sup> Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* and *New York Times*, Jan. 27, 1924.

in the hearings, acting as friend and attorney for one of Fall's intimates, "Ned" McLean.<sup>10</sup>

This smear of Democrats involved one party leader who at the moment loomed larger than any other in the United States, William McAdoo, widely expected to be his party's nominee in the forthcoming election. What made matters worse was his regard for himself as something of a shining knight, a Sir Galahad in politics. The testimony about him could hardly have been more sensational. McAdoo had received a retainer of \$50,000 yearly, according to Doheny's memory, and the total paid him and his firm had been \$250,000. Subsequently Doheny corrected his figures, setting the total at \$150,000;<sup>11</sup> but the stain on McAdoo's reputation was not erased. Object as he might to this "continued effort to make my private law practice a political issue,"<sup>12</sup> he, like other Democrats, faced at best the imputation of guilt by association. The well-nigh universal opinion of newspapermen was that McAdoo had been forced on the defensive, probably eliminated as a Presidential prospect.<sup>13</sup>

What had been a Republican scandal now assumed the complexion of a two-party affair. As one newspaper put it, "The Senate investigation has become a 'gusher' and both Republicans and Democrats, in varying degrees no doubt, will carry the smell of petroleum, both crude and refined."<sup>14</sup> A Washington columnist, North O. Messenger, went so far as to declare, "Political history does not record a similar instance in which an apparently perfectly good campaign issue was demolished between sun and sun."<sup>15</sup> Leaders in both parties recognized a perhaps decisive incident, the Republicans gleefully, the Democrats sorrowfully.

Republicans now could smear their accusers with their own brush. The secretary of the Republican National Committee referred to Doheny as "one of the nation's most distinguished democrats" and took note of his having employed Wilsonian leaders "at fabulous salaries."<sup>16</sup> When Congressman Israel M. Foster of Athens, Ohio, heard the reports in the House chamber of McAdoo's connections with Doheny, he taunted the Democratic opposition. Having enjoyed their "field day" at Republican expense, what did they say

<sup>10</sup> *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 1937-57 (Feb. 1, 1924), pp. 2123-30 (Feb. 12, 1924), pp. 2413-34 (Feb. 29, 1924).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1947-48 (Feb. 1, 1924), pp. 1969-70 (Feb. 8, 1924).

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Helena (Mont.) *Independent*, Feb. 24, 1924; *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 1970-72 and 2059-70 (Feb. 11, 1924).

<sup>13</sup> North O. Messenger in the *Washington Evening Star*, Feb. 2, 1924. See also *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 3, 1924; *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1924; Richard V. Oulahan in *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1924.

<sup>14</sup> *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 3, 1924.

<sup>15</sup> *Washington Evening Star*, Feb. 2, 1924.

<sup>16</sup> George B. Lockwood, quoted in *Helena Independent*, Feb. 1, 1924.

now? Did they plan to nominate for the exalted office of President the well-paid attorney of a Democratic oil baron?<sup>17</sup> Goaded by Foster, Thomas L. Blanton of Texas admitted that if the charges against McAdoo were true, he should be eliminated as a potential Presidential candidate. Democratic Senator Clarence C. Dill of the state of Washington sadly acknowledged that the scandals affected both parties. A national crisis existed, and it was no time to play politics. Urging the appointment of a special government prosecutor whom all could trust, his choice was Louis D. Brandeis, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.<sup>18</sup>

Unlike Senator Dill most Democratic leaders kept their distress to themselves, though in private they acknowledged the tarnished condition of their own party. It was "a pity," wrote Patrick Quinn, Democratic National Committeeman from Rhode Island, that there was "so much evidence of oil in both parties."<sup>19</sup> Patrick H. Callahan of Kentucky, varnish manufacturer, distinguished Catholic layman, liberal propagandist, and supporter of McAdoo, expressed a similar view. At the height of the excitement over the Doheny accusations he visited the capital. Most of the McAdoo people, he found, had risen to their feet again "after almost taking the whole count." But there was no doubt that the former Secretary's cause had been "very much impaired" among the intellectuals. In fact, he heard a story circulating in Washington that McAdoo was coming to the capital to attend Woodrow Wilson's funeral on Wednesday and to attend his own on Thursday, when he was scheduled to testify before the Senate committee.<sup>20</sup> Callahan's own attitude was that, while McAdoo had done nothing exactly wrong, his supporters could hardly stand and sing "Onward Christian Soldiers," as they had hoped they could.<sup>21</sup> Even Senator Walsh, "the investigator" himself, soon came to believe that McAdoo was no longer a clean government candidate, in spite of the latter's protestations that he and his followers were "pathfinders for Democracy."<sup>22</sup>

The importance of McAdoo's "fall from the pinnacle"<sup>23</sup> can scarcely be exaggerated. That it saved the Coolidge administration from defeat is certainly a possibility, but in any case the consequences were manifold and serious. With new supplies and sources of political ammunition the Republi-

<sup>17</sup> *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1845-46 (Feb. 1, 1924).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1846, 1805.

<sup>19</sup> Patrick Quinn to T. J. Walsh, Feb. 1, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>20</sup> P. H. Callahan to C. Lee Cook, Feb. 12, 1924, Amos Pinchot MSS.

<sup>21</sup> P. H. Callahan to Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Apr. 24, 1924, Amos Pinchot MSS.

<sup>22</sup> T. J. Walsh to Hugh R. Wells, Apr. 4, 1924, Walsh MSS, and McAdoo quoted in *Philadelphia Record*, June 24, 1924.

<sup>23</sup> Frederic W. Wile in the Waterbury (Conn.) *Democrat*, Feb. 7, 1924, Walsh Scrapbooks, Library of Congress.

cans now could shout "corruption" almost as loudly as their opponents. Until February 1, 1924, McAdoo apparently possessed unique qualifications for leading his party to victory. Brilliantly successful as Secretary of the Treasury under Wilson and also as wartime director of railroads, he had fixed his eyes on the White House, acquired a loyal following, and seemed early in 1924 to face no serious competition for the Democratic nomination, not even from Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. But after the shocking news of McAdoo's oil fees, the Smith campaign acquired new vigor.<sup>24</sup> A stop-McAdoo movement, which was to culminate in virtual civil war within the Democratic party, had become a powerful reality.

The decline of McAdoo's strength and the heightening of intraparty tensions is illustrated by the relationship between McAdoo and Senator Walsh, who was not only the chief investigator but an important figure in the Democratic party. In August, 1923, the Montana senator had announced his support of McAdoo's candidacy and called him the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton,<sup>25</sup> Andrew Mellon notwithstanding. When the McAdoo-Doheny relationship first was revealed, Senator Walsh heard the former Secretary's testimony and condoned his conduct. McAdoo, however, made additional statements that hurt his cause. He indicated that shortly after he had resigned as Secretary his law firm handled tax cases before the Treasury Department, which implied influence peddling. He further admitted that Doheny had promised his firm a contingent fee of one million dollars if certain oil cases in Mexico were successfully terminated.<sup>26</sup> Walsh now changed his mind. He wrote privately to McAdoo, to Montana politicians, and doubtless told other Democrats that with the Californian as their nominee the value of the "clean government" issue would be lost; it was an unhappy and embarrassing situation.<sup>27</sup> But Walsh was not so frank with the public. He continued to be regarded as a McAdoo supporter, although his evasiveness led some to believe that he was playing a smart game, hoping to become a compromise choice if McAdoo failed in the convention.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1924; Mark Sullivan in *Raleigh News and Observer*, Feb. 7, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Oct. 20, Nov. 5, 1924; Kenneth C. MacKay, *The Progressive Movement of 1924* (New York, 1947), pp. 75, 103-104; Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, pp. 165-67.

<sup>25</sup> *Helena Independent*, Aug. 16, 1923.

<sup>26</sup> *New York Times*, Feb. 25, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 28, 1924.

<sup>27</sup> T. J. Walsh to William G. McAdoo, Apr. 3, 1924, to James F. O'Connor, Mar. 27, 1924; to Hugh R. Wells, Apr. 4, 1924, to Walter Aitken, May 29, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>28</sup> *New York Times*, Mar. 31, 1924; *New York Tribune*, Apr. 1, 1924; Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) *Eagle*, Apr. 1, 1924, Walsh Scrapbooks. The *Eagle* concluded that Senator Walsh was an "opportunist" rather than a progressive, "obviously . . . very willing." See also Richard V. Oulahan in *New York Times*, June 27, 1924, Charles Michelson in *New York World*, July 6, 1924. It is interesting to speculate on the consequences had Walsh ignored political affiliations and taken an unequivocal, selfless stand on the McAdoo affair. He could conceivably have informed news-

The investigator from Montana had come to regard himself as a logical alternative for the place in the event of a deadlock.<sup>29</sup>

In still another way the McAdoo incident spelled disaster for his party. It meant, almost certainly, the formation of a third party. Until the spreading of the oil mess the powerful railroad unions and progressives in many quarters had looked with satisfaction upon the prospect of nominating McAdoo. He was their champion. They saw no profit in splitting the progressive vote by the nomination of Robert M. La Follette on a third-party ticket. Now everything was changed. One of the most influential railroad leaders, Edward Keating, editor of *Labor* (the official publication of sixteen railroad labor organizations) advised McAdoo to withdraw from the race.<sup>30</sup> Railroad men, intensely disappointed in their former idol and disillusioned with the chance of reform in either major party, quickened their enthusiasm for a third party.<sup>31</sup>

The intellectuals who might support a third-party movement were often affected in the same way. Thus Amos Pinchot, liberal publicist and brother of Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, noted "the pleasant mix-up at Washington, with the spectacle of so many cabinet members and ex-members taking the shilling of privilege and being inducted into the grabbers' service." He felt "surer than ever" that both the old parties were, for the time being, hopeless and therefore joined heartily in the cause of a new progressive party that, he hoped, would put grabbers on the defensive.<sup>32</sup>

Although these developments were, to say the least, encouraging to the Coolidge administration, nevertheless strategists of the Grand Old Party wasted no time in gloating. Their own situation was too precarious. Their President Harding might have prevented the scandals, and their President Coolidge had it in his power to clean them up. Inclined to defend the record of their party, they anxiously watched public opinion and prepared to do

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papermen, first, that in his opinion McAdoo had disqualified himself for the nomination and, second, that under no circumstances would he personally become a candidate.

<sup>29</sup> *New York Times*, Mar. 31, 1924; T. J. Walsh to Mrs. George Barnett, July 24, 1924, and to Arthur Brisbane, Oct. 1, 1925, Walsh MSS. William Randolph Hearst and others were of like mind. *Helena Independent*, July 2, 1924.

<sup>30</sup> Letter cited in MacKay, p. 103. See also Edward Keating to P. H. Callahan, Apr. 5, 1924, in the Amos Pinchot MSS, which reveals that Keating was giving serious consideration to Senator Walsh as a substitute for McAdoo.

<sup>31</sup> MacKay, pp. 74-75. The *Springfield Republican* (Nov. 5, 1924) declared flatly that had it not been for the oil fees, McAdoo would have received the Democratic nomination and there would have been no third party. The Democratic leader and philanthropist George Foster Peabody also asserted that "unquestionably" McAdoo would have been nominated if he had had no connection with Doheny. Peabody to Amos Pinchot, Oct. 1, 1924, Pinchot MSS. See also David Lawrence in *Springfield Republican*, Nov. 4, 1924; Mark Sullivan, *The Twenties*, p. 337.

<sup>32</sup> Amos Pinchot to Karl Bickel, Feb. 4, 1924, Pinchot MSS; see also Pinchot to Oswald G. Villard, Feb. 4, 1924, and to Gilson Gardner, Feb. 20, 1924, and Edwin J. Gross to Pinchot, Feb. 21, 1924, Pinchot MSS.

what was necessary to stay in power. First, if the country demanded cleansing, it must have its wish. Second, if the Democrats wanted a corruption issue, they would get it; McAdoo and others would be exposed as parties to the scandal or, worse than that, as politically motivated hypocrites.

For the Republicans leadership of the type Calvin Coolidge afforded was fortunate. The mere fact that he was not personally responsible for the scandals but rather had inherited them from the deceased Harding was of enormous value. Coolidge, moreover, was shy, frugal, pinch-faced, seemingly as clean as the winds of rural New England from whence he came. It would be difficult at best for the Democrats to tag this man as "corrupt." When he handled himself with political finesse and also perched on the upswing of the business cycle, it became impossible.

President Coolidge's policy was, however, evolved under considerable pressure. At first he showed hostility toward the investigation. His party and his friends were under fire, and, as most Presidents would have done, he reacted defensively.<sup>33</sup> Like Chief Justice Taft and many other Republicans, he even suspected a Democratic plot to discredit his administration.<sup>34</sup> As a believer, furthermore, in the credo of more business in government and less government in business he was not pleased to hear gossip about oil millionaires corrupting the system. But recognizing that a scandal actually existed, and having decided to run for another term in the White House, he saw the wisdom of action.

The issue had to be faced. On January 27, three days after Doheny's confession, the headlines of the *New York Times* showed the trend: "Coolidge Will End Oil Leases Quickly: Party Chiefs, Alarmed, Call for Action. . . . Fear Effect of Mounting Scandal, Now Called Worst since Grant's Day." An article on the same page described an appeal to Coolidge from five Republican congressmen in Chicago. They urged him to "hit hard," to use the "big stick" in cleaning up the mess. The attitude of many newspapermen was typified by Frederic William Wile, who believed that Coolidge's political future hung in the balance: "Anything savoring of whitewashing might spell the political doom of Calvin Coolidge, both with regard to the republican presidential nomination and the November election in case he is the nominee of his party."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See Ise, *United States Oil Policy*, pp. 377-87, which is hard on Coolidge, and also testimony of Edward McLean and of C. Bascom Slemp, *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 2699-2701 (Mar. 12, 1924), pp. 2343-56 (Feb. 25, 1924). White, *A Puritan in Babylon*, pp. 247, 253, 265.

<sup>34</sup> Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York, 1939), II, 1020 and *passim*; White, p. 253 and *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 29, 1924. See also David Lawrence in *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 30, 1924.



Coolidge was also goaded into action by the mood of the United States Senate, where "Miss Democracy" had a "new sweetheart."<sup>36</sup> Senator Walsh's prestige had reached an all-time high. Democrats like Thaddeus Caraway joined him in thundering against the oil criminals and the do-nothing administration.<sup>37</sup> Republicans were also indignant, or simply frightened by the threat of political repercussions. On January 31 an aroused Senate voted on a resolution directing the President to cancel the oil leases which had been obtained "in defiance of the settled policy of the Government" and "under circumstances indicating fraud and corruption." The strongly worded resolution called for President Coolidge to by-pass Attorney General Harry Daugherty, himself under suspicion, and appoint special counsel to conduct the litigation. The vote was 89 to 0. Every Republican voted with every Democrat to repudiate the policy of Harding, Fall, and Denby.<sup>38</sup>

On February 11 the Senate voted on a much more controversial resolution. It requested that the President obtain Secretary Denby's resignation from the cabinet, since the Senate already had condemned the oil leases, to which Denby had been a party. There were many who defended Denby or who doubted the wisdom of forcing him to retire. Nevertheless, the senators voted 47 to 34 in favor of the resolution, ten Republicans aligning themselves with the Democrats.<sup>39</sup>

On January 27 President Coolidge made his first important official move on the oil scandal. Learning that the Senate investigators were preparing to ask the appointment of two special government prosecutors, one a Democrat and one a Republican, he hastily conferred with his advisers and announced at midnight his own identical plan: counsel from each political party would be appointed to investigate the petroleum reserve question. He promised, moreover, that no guilty man would escape.<sup>40</sup> The Republican New York *Post* exulted in an editorial entitled "Coolidge Blunts the Thunderbolt." "To a very considerable degree," it continued, "the White House has politically sterilized a very rotten business."<sup>41</sup>

On February 12 the President, in an address before the National Republican Club in New York, announced his determination to seek out and punish all guilty persons, whether Republican or Democratic:

<sup>36</sup> Harry B. Hunt, Washington, D.C., in *Helena Independent*, Feb. 24, 1924.

<sup>37</sup> Washington *Evening Star*, Jan. 23, 28, 1924; *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1540-47 (Jan. 28, 1924).

<sup>38</sup> *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1728-29 (Jan. 31, 1924). The Springfield *Republican* (Feb. 1, 1924) saw this as an "exceedingly significant victory" for the Democrats of the Senate, which meant that Coolidge, to save himself politically, must act.

<sup>39</sup> *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2245 (Feb. 11, 1924); New York *Times*, Feb. 24, 1924.

<sup>40</sup> Washington *Evening Star*, Jan. 27, 1924.

<sup>41</sup> Jan. 29, 1924.

There will be immediate, adequate unshrinking prosecution, criminal and civil to punish the guilty, and to protect every national interest. In this effort there will be no politics, nor partisanship. I am a republican, but I cannot on that account, shield anyone because he is a republican. I am a republican, but I cannot on that account prosecute anyone because he is a democrat.<sup>42</sup>

This exemplified Coolidge's strategy, which one of his supporters described as "admit nothing; claim everything."<sup>43</sup>

After some show of stubbornness, however, Coolidge yielded with respect to two members of his cabinet, Denby and Harry Daugherty. In both cases the weight of public opinion was irresistible.<sup>44</sup> Of the Daugherty case David Lawrence commented: "Panic has seized the Republican leaders in Washington. Swept off its feet by the tales of an outraged public opinion, the Grand Old Party is torn between fear of what may happen in the next elections and the knowledge that to yield to popular clamor is a confession of guilt which upon investigation would not be proved."<sup>45</sup> At the same time William E. Borah wrote privately of the tortured and demoralized state of his party.<sup>46</sup> In this situation Denby and Daugherty had to go.<sup>47</sup>

In the meantime Coolidge had appointed two special prosecutors who gained the approval of the Senate. They were a Republican, Owen J. Roberts of Philadelphia, and a Democrat, the former senator from Ohio, Atlee Pomerene. With the co-operation of Senator Walsh, they studied the evidence on oil leasing<sup>48</sup> and shortly moved for an indictment of the oil criminals.

The significance of President Coolidge's cleaning campaign has been generally overlooked. It is hardly enough to dismiss casually, as one writer does, "a wave of excitement" at the height of the scandal sufficient to cause the

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in *Helena Independent*, Feb. 13, 1924.

<sup>43</sup> George Wharton Pepper, *Philadelphia Lawyer: An Autobiography* (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 198. Cf. Calvin Coolidge, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931), p. 188.

<sup>44</sup> Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals" prepared by Henry C. Beerits in 1933-34 for Charles Evans Hughes, Hughes MSS, Library of Congress; Herbert Hoover, *Memoirs: The Cabinet and the Presidency, 1920-1933* (New York, 1952), p. 54; Edwin Denby to Calvin Coolidge, Feb. 17, 1924, Coolidge to Denby, Feb. 18, 1924, Coolidge MSS, Library of Congress. As the *New York Times* saw it, "Secretary Denby's resignation simply had to be. . . . It had . . . become impossible for him longer to ignore or defy the popular fury that beat upon him" (Feb. 19, 1924). On the Daugherty resignation see *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 29, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 1924; Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals," Hughes MSS; White, *A Puritan in Babylon*, pp. 266-69.

<sup>45</sup> *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 24, 1924.

<sup>46</sup> William E. Borah to Abner P. Hays, Feb. 26, 1924, Borah MSS, Library of Congress.

<sup>47</sup> Coolidge's secretary to Harry M. Daugherty, Mar. 27, 1924, Coolidge MSS. The tendency of administration leaders was to make first Fall then Daugherty into scapegoats, whereas President Harding, Edwin Denby, and others received kindly treatment. Charles Evans Hughes made an elaborate defense of Denby, although this is not mentioned in the recent Hughes biography and, in fact, the opposite impression is given. Herbert Hoover did likewise. Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals," Hughes MSS; E. Merlo Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York, 1951), II, 565-69; Hoover, *Memoirs*, p. 54.

<sup>48</sup> See Walsh's correspondence with Atlee Pomerene and Owen J. Roberts in the Walsh MSS. Walsh's co-operation occurred after the two men had been approved by the Senate over his opposition. *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2559-60 (Feb. 16, 1924).

dismissal of two cabinet members and the appointment of special oil counsel.<sup>49</sup> The "wave of excitement" had lasting consequences. Coolidge had disassociated himself from the "Harding Gang." Through his special oil counsel, moreover, he took an important step toward restoring government control of the naval oil reserves. Perhaps his motives were not exactly spiritual; perhaps he could have acted more vigorously. But the important thing was that, in effect, he had repudiated the leasing policy of Harding and Fall. He had retained—or even won—the support of respectable, middle-of-the-road Republicans.

The attitude of the Springfield *Republican* toward Coolidge is illuminating. Here was a newspaper respected by Republicans and Democrats alike, partly for its vigorous advocacy of a bipartisan policy on conservation.<sup>50</sup> From the first damning disclosures it had denounced the Fall leases, the "gasoline plutocrats," "the upstart, braggart millionaires of the Sinclair and Doheny type."<sup>51</sup> It called upon President Coolidge to express his liberty of action and good intentions by expelling Denby and Daugherty from the cabinet: "Mr. Coolidge inherited his cabinet, but he is not obliged to pay an excessive inheritance tax on the estate left to him. The public would approve such changes as the developments have made to seem desirable for the public service and his own liberty of action."<sup>52</sup> When Coolidge began to clean up and took steps toward regaining the naval oil reserves, the *Republican* was appeased. It saw no inconsistency, therefore, in lavishly praising Senator Walsh, the Democrat, while supporting Coolidge, the Republican, for another term as President.<sup>53</sup>

The same kind of reasoning went on among Republican politicians of recognized integrity. Senator Borah and Abner P. Hayes, judge of the city court in Waterbury, Connecticut, provide a good illustration. Both men were disgusted over the Harding scandals. Both were impatient and critical of Coolidge's delays. But Hayes attributed the corruption to the usual deterioration in moral standards that followed all great wars and concluded that the Republican party, "with all its imperfections," still afforded the best hope for "orderly and decent government." Senator Borah agreed.<sup>54</sup> His solution was

<sup>49</sup> Allen, *Only Yesterday*, pp. 154–58.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph P. Tumulty, former secretary to President Wilson, sent a clipping from the Springfield *Republican* to Senator Walsh and remarked: "When I was in the White House we looked upon the Springfield Republican as one of the most reliable newspapers in the country. Therefore, I know you will be interested in the enclosed tribute to you." Tumulty to Walsh, June 10, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>51</sup> Springfield *Republican*, Jan. 28, 1924; see also issues of Jan. 22, 24, 25, 26.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1924.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, June 7, 10, 13, July 10, 11, 1924.

<sup>54</sup> Abner P. Hayes to W. E. Borah, Feb. 23, 1924, Borah to Hayes, Feb. 26, 1924, Borah MSS.

for the Republicans to "clean out" and in the future to take more care about whom they raised to high positions in the government.<sup>55</sup> It was not necessary to turn the Congress and Presidency over to the Democrats.

None the less, for the Republicans merely to clean up their own party was not enough, or so administration leaders decided. Political security also demanded a counterattack against the Democrats who were beating at their door. They must return blow for blow, however and in whatever manner exigencies required. The Democrats unfortunately were open to assault, in some ways not yet described.

Senator Walsh was by no means invulnerable in his role as investigator and accuser. From the start Republicans had suspected his motives, and as time passed they made use of flaws that appeared in his armor. Personally ambitious, Walsh had, from 1913 when he had entered the Senate, worked persistently, sometimes passionately, for Democratic party success. He believed that interparty fault-finding was a "cardinal virtue" of the party system and that purely political opposition was entirely justifiable.<sup>56</sup> To consider Walsh politically reckless or irresponsible would be an error; even so, his reputation for being a partisan Democrat was such that when he played the game straight, as he tried to do in the Teapot Dome investigation, there were reasons to question his impartiality.<sup>57</sup> One critic noted that he took himself too seriously, that he would have done better to show a grain of humor once in a while.<sup>58</sup>

A curious and ironic development of this whole affair was the friendship between Senator Walsh and Doheny, the culprit. For many years, at meetings in Washington and elsewhere, mostly of a political nature, the two Democrats had come to know each other rather well. Doheny at the time was a quiet little man of good reputation,<sup>59</sup> but the chain of circumstances at length forced him to come before the Public Lands Committee and admit his relationship with Fall. Walsh was distressed,<sup>60</sup> but did his duty and got the essential facts from Doheny.

<sup>55</sup> W. E. Borah to Mrs. Olive Stott Gabriel, Mar. 7, 1924, Borah MSS.

<sup>56</sup> Walsh, "True History of Teapot Dome," *Forum*, LXXII, 2.

<sup>57</sup> Walsh's role, for example, in the Newberry contested election case of 1922 had been at least partly political. See Spencer Ervin, *Henry Ford vs. Truman H. Newberry* (New York, 1935), *passim*; *Cong. Record*, 67 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 993-97 (Jan. 10, 1922); T. J. Walsh to J. C. Hooker, Jan. 14, 1922, Walsh MSS; Pepper, *Philadelphia Lawyer*, pp. 144-45.

<sup>58</sup> Pepper, p. 169.

<sup>59</sup> One evidence of his standing in the party is a letter written by former Senator James D. Phelan shortly before Doheny testified in Washington. Phelan and other California leaders were about to elect Doheny a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. "Confidentially," Phelan asked Senator Walsh, was there anything in the oil leases which would reflect on the integrity of their friend? Indeed there was, replied Walsh; and McAdoo by being on Doheny's payroll was also in danger. Phelan to Walsh, Jan.—, 1924, Walsh to Phelan, Jan. 24, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>60</sup> T. J. Walsh to J. D. Phelan, Jan. 24, 1924, Walsh MSS.

The tongues, however, began to wag. Evidence was dug up that in December, 1923, in the middle of the investigation Doheny had invited Walsh to join him in an oil "proposition" in Montana. The senator had rejected the invitation, saying it would be improper for him to take part in a business that might require a government lease.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, a different and sinister interpretation was easy.<sup>62</sup>

Then, too, there were rumors that Walsh had conferred with Doheny in his private railroad car before he testified and that they had arranged not to bring up the fact that McAdoo was on his payroll.<sup>63</sup> There was some truth in the accusation: Walsh did not press the oil man about his Democratic employees, as he might have pressed a Republican. It seems likely that while Walsh had not conferred with Doheny in his railroad car he had communicated with Doheny's lawyer, Gavin McNab, about the predicament in which the Democrats found themselves.<sup>64</sup> Whatever the facts, the Democratic embarrassment was acute, and Republicans sensing this made the most of it. One of the most popular cartoons of the season represented two portraits side by side: a shy "McAdoo Done in Oil" by Doheny and a Napoleonic "McAdoo Done in Whitewash" by Senator Walsh.<sup>65</sup> The foes of the probe sometimes went to the opposite extreme and said that, instead of protecting McAdoo, Walsh had deliberately tried to injure him as a Presidential contender so that his own chances for winning the nomination would be improved. Thus an editorial in the *New York Tribune* inquired, "Who Hit McAdoo?"<sup>66</sup>

Additional propaganda for the partisan press was provided by the record of Senator Walsh and other Wilsonian Democrats on oil-leasing questions. In 1920 after years of controversy, a bill providing for the leasing of petroleum lands had become law. Most conservationists approved this policy.<sup>67</sup> Instead of selling petroleum lands or keeping them withdrawn from private use the government, while retaining control, would lease to those who qualified. This was the beginning of a permanent new policy, and Secretary of the Interior John Barton Payne, in accordance with the law, granted a number of leases before leaving office in 1921. Secretary of the Navy Daniels also permitted a few small leases on the naval oil reserves. Three years later the Republican

<sup>61</sup> T. J. Walsh to E. L. Doheny, Dec. 24, 1923, Walsh MSS.

<sup>62</sup> See, e.g., *New York Tribune*, Mar. 8, 1924, Congressman James F. Byrnes to T. J. Walsh, Mar. 19, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>63</sup> *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 3000-3002 (Mar. 27, 1924); Paul Y. Anderson in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Mar. 28, 1924.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Gavin McNab to T. J. Walsh, Jan. 21, 1924, Walsh to James D. Phelan, Jan. 24, 1924, William G. McAdoo to Walsh, June 23, 1925, Walsh MSS; testimony of Doheny, *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 1771-1823 (Jan. 24, 1924), pp. 1935-60 (Feb. 1, 1924).

<sup>65</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 26, 1924.

<sup>66</sup> Apr. 1, 1924.

<sup>67</sup> See, *United States Oil Policy*, p. 352.

National Committee and many Republicans insisted that the "Democrats Leased Naval Oil Reserves," that the Democrats, by starting the policy of leasing oil lands, were as much to blame for the scandals as the Harding administration.<sup>68</sup>

Josephus Daniels and Senator Walsh came in for special attack. They had helped to formulate the leasing policy mentioned above; indeed Daniels had designed that particular section of an amendment under which the corrupt leases later occurred. He admitted his role but pointed out quite accurately that Secretary Fall had flagrantly misinterpreted and violated the act. Honest people were supposed to administer the laws; it was not his fault that Fall had been appointed to a position of power.<sup>69</sup> But no matter how logical Daniels' defense, the amendment had been carelessly drawn, as Walsh admitted,<sup>70</sup> and some, reading headlines and slanted stories, drew inferences unfavorable to the Democrats.

Senator Walsh was peculiarly vulnerable on the background of leasing legislation. From the time he entered the Senate he had insisted that western public lands should be opened to development. He had labored therefore for a general minerals-leasing bill, including that which passed in 1920. Some papers even remembered that on one occasion in Senate debate he had cited E. L. Doheny as an oil expert whose integrity could not be doubted and, like Doheny, had seemed to favor leasing the naval oil reserves.<sup>71</sup> He had enthusiastically supported the program of Franklin K. Lane, Wilson's Secretary of the Interior, whom the ablest scholar on the subject classes among the "exploiters" of the public domain,<sup>72</sup> and who finally resigned to accept a high-paying job with Doheny. A few suspected Walsh, like Lane, of being anti-conservationist.<sup>73</sup> The truth seems to be that Walsh was a fair-minded man

<sup>68</sup> Wilmington (Del.) *Evening Journal*, Feb. 28, 1924; see also (Helena) *Montana Record-Herald*, Feb. 8, 1924; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Feb. 25, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 25, 1924; *New York Times*, Feb. 27, June 6, 1924. So eminent a Republican as Charles Evans Hughes helped to distort this issue. Cf. Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals," Hughes MSS; Ise, *passim*; Commander H. A. Stuart's letter to Senator Walsh, quoted in *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 3258-60.

<sup>69</sup> Daniels, quoted in *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Feb. 26, 1924; Thomas J. Walsh in *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1924.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., p. 4770 (Sept. 3, 1919). See accounts in Missoula (Mont.) *New Northwest*, Feb. 15, 1924, clipping in Walsh Scrapbooks; *Montana Record-Herald*, Feb. 8, 1924.

<sup>72</sup> John Ise, in his *United States Oil Policy*, pp. 336-37. Walsh mentioned in one connection that Lane was under suspicion and yet stated elsewhere that he had been Lane's mainstay in the Senate. Thomas J. Walsh in *The Outlook*, CXXXVII (May 21, 1924), 97; Walsh to Helena *Independent*, Aug. 11, 1914, Walsh MSS; Walsh quoted in Helena *Independent*, Aug. 3, 1924.

<sup>73</sup> T. J. Walsh to P. N. Bernard, Dec. 12, 1923, Walsh MSS; Poughkeepsie *Eagle*, Apr. 1, 1924, clipping in Walsh Scrapbooks.



and a moderate on conservation; yet there were contradictions between his past and present attitudes that invited assault.<sup>74</sup>

Senator Walsh's methods in running the investigation were not above reproach. On the whole he was fair, but inevitably he became involved emotionally and politically. In the fight to force Denby out of the cabinet Walsh pressed relentlessly and perhaps was carried away by a sense of his own importance. Vacationing at Pinehurst, North Carolina, among throngs of awed admirers, he was reported to have commented apropos of Denby's resignation: "He was just a piece of putty in their hands [Fall's and others]. They are through with him, and I cannot see that he will be of any further use to us. Let him begone. The stage is that much clearer for those who are to come later."<sup>75</sup>

This sort of attitude, not an isolated one, was no less than a challenge to the Coolidge administration. Walsh, in fact, engaged in virtually a running duel with the President and charged that administration leaders had perpetrated a plot to prevent the oil exposures, that Coolidge himself had been a friend of the guilty ones, and that the investigating and detective agencies of the government had not "lifted a finger" to help.<sup>76</sup> Walsh could not hope, however, to pin anything incriminating on Coolidge; none of his appointees was in trouble. And the shrewd little man from Massachusetts knew more than one way to fight back. Though periodically he waved on the investigation, he and administration stalwarts were finding ways to strike at the Democracy. In March a new pro-administration senator joined the hearings and challenged Walsh's actions and motives point by point.<sup>77</sup> Administration speakers also were actively befogging the issue. Senator George Wharton Pepper of Pennsylvania declared that the Democrats, through their investigations, had aimed at the Republicans "and hit America." Nicholas Longworth, the Republican leader in the House, deplored the opposition's obstructionist tactics and its vituperation "designed to blast the reputations of honest men with reflections upon the dead as well as upon the living." The

<sup>74</sup> For instance an Iowan wrote to Senator Walsh enclosing a cartoon depicting the senator as silent when the noxious oil-leasing bill had passed. "The Iowa public," he said, "would like to have you answer the enclosed cartoon." C. L. Voss to T. J. Walsh, Mar. 7, 1924, enclosing clipping from a Chicago newspaper, Walsh MSS.

<sup>75</sup> Ben Dixon MacNeill in *Raleigh News and Observer*, Feb. 20, 1924. It was only to be expected that Coolidge, Charles Evans Hughes, and others who were fond of Denby and who believed him a victim of circumstances would resent Walsh's attitude. See *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 1, 1924; Walsh speech of Feb. 8 in *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2055-65.

<sup>76</sup> *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1924; Robert Barry in *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Feb. 24, 1924; *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 2699-2701 (Mar. 12, 1924). Publicly and privately the Montana senator was bitter toward Coolidge and believed, with reason, that the feeling was reciprocated. See T. J. Walsh to George Randall, June 19, 1924, Walsh to W. M. Buckles, Sept. 10, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>77</sup> Selden Spencer of Missouri made himself thoroughly obnoxious. See *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 3004-15 (Mar. 28, 1924).

influential Senator James E. Watson of Indiana expressed similar views.<sup>78</sup>

Walsh's colleague from Montana, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, further excited the Republicans. In Montana Wheeler had been known as a radical. On arriving in Washington he quickly vindicated his reputation by leading the special investigation of Harry Daugherty which forced that discredited figure from the cabinet. In getting results Wheeler was effective, but his methods were those of a sometimes amiable, sometimes defiant young politician with an eye for the big chance.<sup>79</sup> Against him the Republicans undertook their most audacious counteroffensive. An agent was sent to Montana to get something on Wheeler.<sup>80</sup> Consequently in April, 1924, Wheeler was indicted in the federal district court in Montana on a charge of illegally using his influence to obtain oil concessions for a client, and not until 1925 was this issue resolved by his acquittal before a federal jury. Harlan Stone, the Attorney General who had succeeded Daugherty and who later was to become a respected member of the Supreme Court, believed in Wheeler's guilt and pressed the charge against him.<sup>81</sup> In the meantime the two Montana senators were linked in many minds as a pair of reckless, if not hypocritical, investigators.

The trend of the investigation in April and May, the last two months, was such as to anger Republicans and alienate many newspaper readers. Senator Walsh got wind of an "oil conspiracy" in the Republican convention of 1920, which he believed had brought about Harding's nomination, Fall's appointment, and the subsequent scandal.<sup>82</sup> An inquiry into this was legitimate according to the resolutions of the Senate. Therefore, with Fall, Sinclair, and Doheny refusing to talk further about their machinations,<sup>83</sup> the

<sup>78</sup> Washington News, Apr. 7, 1924.

<sup>79</sup> Until 1922 Wheeler had been identified with the radicals of Montana. In that year, with some kind of "compromise" (evidence not clear) on the part of the Anaconda Copper Company, he was elected to the Senate. He apparently continued during the 1924 campaign to have a working arrangement with the conservatives at home, though, partly at least, by virtue of his investigation of Daugherty he was at this time on the Progressive ticket with La Follette. See T. J. Walsh to Tom Stout, May 22, 1922, Walsh to C. B. Nolan, Feb. 13, Apr. 3, 1922, B. K. Wheeler to Walsh, Apr. 20, 1922, Walsh MSS; Helena Independent, July 17, Oct. 2, 1924. Cf. Samuel Hopkins Adams, *Incredible Era* (Boston, 1939), pp. 413-14; MacKay, *Progressive Movement of 1924*, pp. 140-41; Bruce Bliven, "Wheeler's Way and Walsh's," *New Republic*, XXXVIII (Apr. 2, 1924), 148-50.

<sup>80</sup> Helena Independent, May 2, 1924; T. J. Walsh to Albert F. Coyle, Mar. 29, 1924, Walsh MSS.; MacKay, p. 141.

<sup>81</sup> MacKay, p. 141; Pringle, *Taft*, II, 1020. As MacKay declares, Stone was a man of high quality. The only explanation of the attitude of such men as Stone and Chief Justice Taft seems to be that they sincerely distrusted Wheeler and Walsh. In later years when Stone had become a member of the Supreme Court, he and Wheeler were reconciled. Walsh also formed a high opinion of the future Justice. B. K. Wheeler, cited in MacKay, p. 141; author's interview with Mrs. Genevieve Walsh Gudger, Walsh's daughter, Feb. 21, 1950, Washington, D.C.

<sup>82</sup> T. J. Walsh to H. F. Alderfer, Nov. 10, 1927, Walsh MSS. Walsh continued to believe in the existence of such a conspiracy, although unable to prove it.

<sup>83</sup> U. S. Senate, *Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves*, Report No. 794, 68 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, 1924), pp. 24, 35-36.

committee began to follow the new lead. But the subject was both elusive and explosive. Republicans of prominence such as Nicholas Murray Butler, Senator Watson of Indiana, and George Harvey either did not remember or did not choose to talk of oil deals in 1920.<sup>84</sup> Thwarted by reputable witnesses, Walsh turned to others who were less reputable, such as the ex-convict and politician Al Jennings of Oklahoma. The character of his witnesses, the poised dagger of his inquiry, and his own insinuations about a Republican conspiracy<sup>85</sup> led to new and bitter counterattacks, even fair-minded observers like Mark Sullivan becoming critical.<sup>86</sup>

By June of 1924 Senator Walsh's popularity had waned somewhat, and other Democrats seemed less likely to capitalize upon the Harding scandals. For the issue had become a muddled one. In the course of the campaign that followed, one development after another further undermined their prospects. President Coolidge gradually gained the confidence and support of Old Guard professionals while placing his own friends, notably Frank Stearns and William M. Butler from Massachusetts, in control of the party machinery. The Republicans continued on their smooth and reassuring way. In the Cleveland convention Coolidge won an easy victory, with only the La Follette Progressives seriously disaffected.<sup>87</sup> At the same time a quickening of the business pace and a temporary rise in farm prices, the beginning of "Coolidge prosperity," contributed to party strength and unity.<sup>88</sup>

As for corruption, the strategy changed very little. Republican spokesmen usually avoided the subject, but when necessary they had a plausible argument. The "Honest Government" plank in their Cleveland platform emphasized the need for constant vigilance to maintain high standards of government and offered the example of Calvin Coolidge. Prosecution of alleged criminals already had started and would continue. Punishment would be speedy. But dishonesty existed in both parties, and the sale of influence (a reference to McAdoo?) was bad. The party leaders, moreover, took a healthy whack at Democratic mud-slingers: "We declare no greater wrong can be

<sup>84</sup> Nicholas Murray Butler to T. J. Walsh, Apr. 7, 1924, Walsh to J. J. Baumgardner, Apr. 19, 1924, and to Harriette G. Osborn, Apr. 21, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>85</sup> Theodore M. Knappen (interview with Senator Walsh), "What I Think of the Oil Scandal," *Magazine of Wall Street*, XXXIII (Mar. 15, 1924), 892-93; Thomas J. Walsh in *The Outlook*, CXXXVII (May 21, 1924), 98.

<sup>86</sup> Sullivan, *The Twenties*, pp. 338-49. A resident of Long Island wrote that one month before Walsh was a great investigator; now people considered him a muckraker. Herbert Bodman to T. J. Walsh, Mar. 11, 1924, Walsh MSS. A "woman voter" sent a cartoon from the Portland *Oregonian* showing a rogues' line waiting to testify before the Senate committee. This, she said, embodied the sentiments of the women voters and "other intelligent people of the Pacific coast." Anonymous to T. J. Walsh, Apr. 2, 1924, Walsh MSS.

<sup>87</sup> See MacKay, pp. 92-93; Fuess, *Calvin Coolidge*, pp. 342-44.

<sup>88</sup> It is noteworthy that from the beginning of the oil investigation, editorials in some of the best newspapers alternately concentrated upon rising prosperity and the revelations of scandal. Springfield *Republican*, Feb. 1, 4, 9, 1924; Washington *Evening Star*, Jan. 27, 31, 1924.

committed against the people than the attempt to destroy their trust in the great body of their public servants.”<sup>89</sup> While the President said almost nothing in the campaign, his trusted adviser, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, delivered several addresses which earned for him a sobriquet in certain quarters as the “official dry cleaner of soiled Republican reputations.”<sup>90</sup> At St. Paul, Minnesota, on October 15 Hughes ignored certain facts and did a good job of dry cleaning:

We detest political corruption and we demand the punishment of the guilty. The Republican who soils his hands in corrupt dealing is as treacherous to his party as to his country. . . . It was President Coolidge who took the initiative in having this prosecution conducted by counsel taken from both political parties and selected by the President because of their ability and eminent fitness for this important task. These cases are now in the courts. Every demand of justice is being met and every interest of the Government is being safeguarded.<sup>91</sup>

Newspaper readers were not compelled to take Hughes’s word concerning prosecution of the criminals. They could read about it from day to day in the work that the special prosecutors, Pomerene and Roberts, were doing. There was every reason to be impressed when on June 30 a grand jury handed down criminal indictments against A. B. Fall, Harry Sinclair, E. L. Doheny, and E. L. Doheny, Jr. Some people saw this court action as the vindication not only of Senator Walsh but also of President Coolidge. In the opinion of William Randolph Hearst, a zealous Democrat, the Republicans had well nigh destroyed the corruption issue; Coolidge’s vigorous action left the Democrats only one recourse if they hoped to win on a corruption plank: to nominate Walsh, the investigator himself, as a symbol of clean government.<sup>92</sup>

Meanwhile in their convention of 1924 at Madison Square Garden the Democrats, in the minds of many, convicted themselves of being somewhat hypocritical—only slightly if at all better than the Republicans. The keynote address of Senator “Pat” Harrison of Mississippi, full of bombast and rhetoric, contrasted the purity of Democratic administrations with “a saturnalia” of Republican corruption.<sup>93</sup> Another major address was delivered by Senator Walsh, who because of the supposedly great issue which he had given his party was made permanent chairman of the convention. But his message was not “a clarion note,” as William Allen White observed.<sup>94</sup> Rather it was the typical effort of a convention politician. Walsh defied the world to name any

<sup>89</sup> Republican National Convention, 1924, *Official Report of the Proceedings* (New York, 1924), p. 113.

<sup>90</sup> Amos Pinchot to Edwin A. Van Valkenburg, Oct. 23, 1924, Pinchot MSS.

<sup>91</sup> Memorandum on “The Fall Oil Scandals,” Hughes MSS.

<sup>92</sup> Hearst in the *Helena Independent*, July 2, 1924. See also *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 1, 1924, clipping in Walsh scrapbooks.

<sup>93</sup> Democratic National Convention, 1924, *Official Report of the Proceedings* [1924], p. 7.

<sup>94</sup> *New York World*, June 26, 1924; Democratic Convention, *Official Proceedings*, pp. 80–88.

Democrat who was tainted with corruption, but, when some of the delegates snickered, Walsh hedged, "while he was in public office."<sup>95</sup> Most of the delegates, including Walsh, were in the predicament of supporting for the Presidency McAdoo, whose name was not totally unbesmirched.

In the bitter sectional rivalry between the forces of McAdoo and the forces of Al Smith one issue was "oil." For some time before the convention, certain Democratic leaders publicly or secretly charged that McAdoo had disqualified himself for the nomination. As the party's chief issue was corruption, they said, it would be senseless to nominate McAdoo, who was himself covered with oil. The party must have a clean government candidate.<sup>96</sup> When the convention began, partisans of Al Smith in the balconies showed their disrespect for McAdoo and his friends by shouting "Oil! Oil! Oil!" or by jeering at appropriate moments.<sup>97</sup> Thus McAdoo's implication in the oil scandals added one more detail to the unsavory disputes of a convention that succeeded before it was through in destroying the party chances for victory. The compromise nominee finally chosen on the hundred and third ballot was John W. Davis of West Virginia, whom few people really wanted.<sup>98</sup> To retain any prospect of victory in the fall campaign the Democrats had needed to appeal to all those thoughtful voters who favored at least reform or honesty in government. But instead, as the influential conservationist Harry Slattery observed, they had "muffed the ball from the kick-off."<sup>99</sup>

As a consequence, the strongest influence upon the reform vote was exercised by the La Follette Progressives, malcontents who could not brook either of the old parties. Merely by existing, the Progressive party seemed to confute reform pretensions of the Democrats. Moreover, La Follette and his running mate, Senator Wheeler, repeatedly charged that both Democrats and Republicans were corrupt and monopoly-ridden, and in La Follette's view the policies and candidates of the major parties were as "alike as two peas in a pod."<sup>100</sup> The effects are apparent. La Follette garnered almost five million votes, most of which otherwise might have gone to the Democrats. On the other hand many, believing in good government but not caring for the "radi-

<sup>95</sup> W. A. White, Arthur Krock, in *New York World*, June 26, 1924.

<sup>96</sup> *New York World*, June 21, 1924. "Shall the Party Be Hamstrung?" asked the *World*. If McAdoo were nominated, it asserted, every Democratic candidate for every elective office would be hamstrung. Governor Pat M. Neff of Texas declared that neither Smith nor McAdoo should be a candidate: "Smith is too wet. McAdoo is too oily." He refused to be a delegate from his state. *Philadelphia Record*, June 24, 1924.

<sup>97</sup> O. H. P. Garrett in the *New York World*, June 27, 1924.

<sup>98</sup> Alfred E. Smith, *Up to Now: An Autobiography* (New York, 1929), pp. 292-94; White, *A Puritan in Babylon*, pp. 306-307; Charles Michelson in *New York World*, July 10, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Oct. 20, 1924; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Nov. 6, 1924.

<sup>99</sup> Harry Slattery to Amos Pinchot, July 5, 1924, Pinchot MSS.

<sup>100</sup> *Springfield Republican*, Sept. 19, 1924, La Follette speech at Madison Square Garden. See also La Follette and La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette*, II, 1132, 1138, 1142.

cal" La Follette and perhaps afraid of throwing the decision into the House of Representatives, were persuaded to "keep cool with Coolidge."<sup>101</sup>

As between John W. Davis and Calvin Coolidge there was, for the voters, no issue of corruption. This may help to explain why hardly more than half of those qualified to vote bothered to do so. Davis was known as a corporation and Wall Street lawyer. He represented to many not only the party of Jackson and Wilson but that of McAdoo, Doheny, and Tammany Hall. His election promised no panaceas, in spite of his allusions to Republican rottenness, and many of the sixteen million who voted for Coolidge must have sensed that fact. Many others thought "Puritan Cal" was the cleanest man in the race.

Even Josephus Daniels, though disappointed in his party's defeat, declared, "The issue of Common Honesty undoubtedly received the approval of the American people."<sup>102</sup> The *Christian Science Monitor* found that Coolidge's personal conduct was closely in accord with the Golden Rule. The people had recognized this, the *Monitor* said, and voted for him as "the exemplar of those virtues, personal and political, which his party platform either evaded or ignored."<sup>103</sup> The *Springfield Republican*, while admitting Coolidge's many limitations, saw in his re-election something approximating the "enthronement of the 'New England conscience.'"<sup>104</sup> The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, one of the great liberal newspapers of the country and one that had aided Senator Walsh in his inquiry, did not look so tolerantly upon Calvin Coolidge. Its diagnosis, nevertheless, did not mention the corruption question and concluded that Democratic disunity and Coolidge prosperity were chiefly responsible for the outcome.<sup>105</sup>

One of the ironies of American politics was this accidental rehabilitation of the Republican party through the rise of Calvin Coolidge, while weaknesses in the Democratic party were accentuated by that issue which they believed would win the election. How much the corruption issue actually influenced the voters there is no way of knowing. Certainly neither party was faultless, and the honesty of Calvin Coolidge might have been more significant than Democratic charges against his party. It is therefore impossible to isolate the issue and to claim either that it did determine or that it should have determined the outcome.

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<sup>101</sup> New York *World*, Nov. 6, 1924.

<sup>102</sup> Raleigh *News and Observer*, Nov. 5, 1924.

<sup>103</sup> Nov. 8, 1924.

<sup>104</sup> Nov. 5, 1924.

<sup>105</sup> Nov. 6, 1924.



\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The Federal Convention: Madison and Yates

ARNOLD A. ROGOW

IT may be said, with only slight exaggeration, that it was something like a slip of the pen that cost Robert Yates everlasting fame. Suppose, for example, that Yates, delegate from New York to the Federal Convention in 1787, had taken copious and detailed instead of rough notes on the proceedings<sup>1</sup> and, further, that instead of quitting the Convention in early July he had remained until the closing session in September. Yates, of course, has a claim on history as an opponent of the Constitution; but it is a fair speculation that had his account of the Convention been more complete, his place in history would have been more secure. Unfortunately, the Yates *Secret Debates* did less than justice to the thought and language of the delegates. The representative from New York tended to squeeze or compress meanings, and frequently to distort them. And, as noted, his account ends when the Convention is barely six weeks old. For these and other reasons, histories of the Convention have largely been based on Madison's notes.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is possible that the *Secret Debates* deserve more attention than they have received. There are some grounds for belief, at any rate, that the Yates account is, or should be, an important source of information on the Convention and, in particular, on the philosophy of Madison at the time of the Convention.

It should be noted, to begin with, that Madison himself had a considerable, if concealed, respect for the *Secret Debates*. When the Yates account appeared in 1821, presenting Madison in the role of nationalist or "consolidationist" at the Convention,<sup>3</sup> Madison was quick to reject the account as a "very er-

<sup>1</sup> The Yates notes were published as the *Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention, Assembled at Philadelphia, in the Year 1787, For the Purpose of Forming the Constitution of the United States of America. From Notes Taken by the Late Robert Yates, Esquire, Chief Justice of New York, and Copied by John Lansing, Jun. Esquire, Late Chancellor of That State, Members of That Convention* (Albany, 1821). The Yates account also appears in Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (3 vols., New Haven, 1911); but the references in this article to the Yates notes, hereafter cited as the *Secret Debates*, are taken from the second edition, published at Richmond, Virginia, in 1839.

<sup>2</sup> Madison's notes, first published in 1840, are reprinted in Farrand, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> A somewhat distorted version of the *Secret Debates* had appeared, in 1808, in *A Letter to the Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States*, by a "Citizen of New York" (E. C. E. Genet). It is reprinted in Farrand, III, 410-16.

roneous edition of the matter.”<sup>4</sup> In a letter to J. G. Jackson, December 27, 1821, he wrote: “. . . I cannot doubt that the prejudices of the author guided his pen, and that he has committed egregious errors at least, in relation to others as well as to myself.”<sup>5</sup> And in an introduction to his own notes which appeared in 1840 he thought it “proper to remark, that with a very few exceptions, the speeches were neither furnished, nor revised, nor sanctioned, by the speaker, but written out from my notes, aided by the freshness of my recollections.”<sup>6</sup> The “exceptions,” he made clear, did not include reliance on Yates. But, as Farrand observed, Madison copied from Yates on over fifty occasions, adding to his own notes material he found in Yates. Generally, Farrand observed, the additions “were a number of speeches or remarks, including several of his own, that Madison failed to note in any form, but later thought worthy of inclusion. And there were also new ideas or shades of thought which Yates had noticed but which Madison failed to catch.”<sup>7</sup>

The additions, however, did not materially alter Madison’s account of the Convention, or bring it into agreement with Yates’s *Secret Debates*. A comparison of the two reports reveals important differences, particularly in the respective accounts of the speeches of Hamilton and Madison. Hamilton, of course, was an outspoken admirer of the British system of government, and, equally, there can be little question that he wanted political power to reside with the property interest. But it is worth noting that he is somewhat more republican in Madison’s notes than he is in Yates’s account. Compare, for example, their treatments of one of his Convention speeches:

Madison’s notes  
June 18, 1787

Hamilton. . . . This progress of the public mind led him to anticipate the time, when others as well as himself would join in the praise bestowed by

Yates’s *Secret Debates*  
June 18, 1787

Hamilton. . . . I believe the British government forms the best model the world ever produced, and such has been its progress in the minds of the many, that

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Farrand, I, xviii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 449. Yates’s “prejudices,” apparently, were not entirely in evidence at the Convention. William Pierce, in his “Character Sketches of Delegates to the Federal Convention,” observed of Yates: “Some of his enemies say that he is an anti-federal man, but I discovered no such disposition in him.” Farrand, III, 90.

<sup>6</sup> “Introduction to the Debates in the Convention,” *Journal of the Federal Convention* (reprinted from the edition of 1840, Chicago, 1898), p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Farrand, I, xviii. Madison’s hostility to the Yates notes was chiefly occasioned by the Yates account of Madison’s own speeches in the Convention. As Irving Brant has observed, in 1821 “publication of the Yates notes revealed Madison’s long-buried nationalism and hostility to state sovereignty. . . . But by 1821 he had become an oracle of strict construction and a bulwark of state sovereignty. His contrary position, before and during the writing of the Constitution, was unsuspected. He could not admit the validity of what Yates had written without a shattering blow to his own prestige and an implied verification of the Marshall-Hamilton conception of national power. He combated it, therefore, by countercharge, avoidance and implied denial . . . not actually denying his previous hostility to the states, but toning it down far more than Yates had sharpened it.” Brant, *James Madison: Father of the Constitution* (New York, 1950), p. 21.

Mr. Neckar on the British Constitution, namely, that it is the only Govt. in the world "which unites public strength with individual security."—In every community where industry is encouraged, there will be a division of it into the few & the many. Hence separate interests will arise. There will be debtors & Creditors &c. Give all power to the many, they will oppress the few. Give all power to the few they will oppress the many. Both therefore ought to have power, that each may defend itself agst. the other. To the want of this check we owe our paper money—instalment laws &c. To the proper adjustment of it the British owe the excellence of their Constitution. Their house of Lords is a most noble institution. Having nothing to hope for by a change, and a sufficient interest by means of their property, in being faithful to the National interest, they form a permanent barrier agst. every pernicious innovation, whether attempted on the part of the Crown or of the Commons. [Farrand, I, 288–89.]

this truth gradually gains ground. This government has for its object public strength and individual security. It is said with us to be unattainable. If it was once formed it would maintain itself. All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and, as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrolling disposition requires checks. . . . It is admitted, that you cannot have a good executive upon a democratic plan. See the excellency of the British executive. He is placed above temptation. He can have no distinct interests from the public welfare. Nothing short of such an executive can be efficient. [Yates, pp. 144–45.]

According to Madison, Hamilton, in effect, is insistent that each of the two major interests in society have power to check the other, although he is more concerned that the propertied class, here as in Britain, "form a permanent barrier agst. every pernicious innovation." In the Yates account, however, the flavor of Hamilton's opinion is unmistakably Hobbesian, and only the propertied class is to have a "distinct, permanent share in the government." Yates, sharply opposed to Hamilton, was throughout inclined to exaggerate Hamilton's anti-Republican sentiments, but it is undeniable that Hamilton's own notes for his speech are more in keeping with Yates than with Madison. To be sure, Hamilton in his notes observes that the tendency of minority government is to "tyrannize over the many" and the tendency of

majority government is to "tyrannize over the few," and that, therefore, government "ought to be in the hands of both." But there follows a long listing of reasons why, in fact, effective minority rule is to be preferred. The power of the aristocracy, says Hamilton, "should be permanent . . . so circumstanced that they can have no interest in a change. . . . There ought to be a principle in government capable of resisting the popular current. . . . The principle chiefly intended to be established is this—that there must be a permanent *will*."<sup>8</sup> In short, Yates apparently got the significance of the word "chiefly" in Hamilton's remarks; Madison apparently did not.

But the contrast in their respective treatments of Hamilton's speeches, while important, is less interesting than a comparison of Madison's self-portrait with Yates's picture of the "Father of the Constitution." Madison's speeches as reported by himself are subdued and restrained; he emerges as a cautious, hesitant, even compromising supporter of the Virginia Plan. On June 5, reports Madison of himself, he "disliked the election of the Judges by the Legislature . . . was not satisfied with referring the appointment to the Executive . . . rather inclined to give it to the Senatorial branch. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

For Yates this tentative mood simply will not do. Madison, he writes, "opposed the motion, and inclined to think, that the executive ought by no means to make the appointments, but rather that branch of the legislature called the senatorial; and moves, that the words 'of the appointment of the legislature,' be expunged."<sup>10</sup> Three days later, on June 8, according to Yates, Madison declared, "It is impossible that the articles of confederation can be amended; they are too tottering to be invigorated; nothing but the present system, or something like it, can restore the peace and harmony of the country."<sup>11</sup> These remarks appear nowhere in Madison's account. Similarly unreported by Madison is a statement attributed to him by Yates on June 22: "Our national government must operate for the good of the whole, and the people must have a general interest in its support; but if you make its legislators subject to, and at the mercy of, the State governments, you ruin the fabric. . . ."<sup>12</sup>

Even where Madison's remarks are treated by both, and at length, the differences in shading and emphasis are hardly less striking. As the following excerpts show, Yates places Madison in the Convention much closer to Hamilton than Madison places himself.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton's notes appear in Farrand, I, 304-11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 120.

<sup>10</sup> Yates, *Secret Debates*, p. 109.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

Madison's notes  
June 26, 1787

Madison. . . . In all civilized Countries the people fall into different classes havg. a real or supposed difference of interests. There will be creditors & debtors, farmers, merchts. & manufacturers. There will be particularly the distinction of rich & poor. . . . In framing a system which we wish to last for ages, we shd. not lose sight of the changes which ages will produce. An increase of population will of necessity increase the proportion of those who will labor under all the hardships of life, & secretly sigh for a more equal distribution of its blessings. These may in time outnumber those who are placed above the feelings of indigence. According to the equal laws of suffrage, the power will slide into the hands of the former. No agrarian attempts have yet been made in this Country, but symptoms of a leveling spirit, as we have understood, have sufficiently appeared in a certain quarters to give notice of the future danger. How is this danger to be guarded agst. on republican principles? How is the danger in all cases of interested co-alitions to oppress the minority to be guarded agst.? Among other means by the establishment of a body in the Govt. sufficiently respectable for its wisdom & virtue, to aid on such emergencies, the preponderance of justice by throwing its weight into that scale. . . . [Farrand, I, 422-23.]

Yates's *Secret Debates*  
June 26, 1787

Madison. . . . in all civilized countries, the interest of the community will be divided. There will be debtors and creditors, and an unequal possession of property, and hence arise different views and different objects in government. . . . The government we mean to erect is intended to last for ages. The landed interest, at present, is prevalent; but, in process of time, when we approximate to the states and kingdoms of Europe; when the number of landholders shall be comparatively small, through the various means of trade and manufactures, will not the landed interest be over-balanced in future elections, and unless wisely provided against, what will become of your government. In England, at this day, if elections were open to all classes of people, the property of the landed proprietors would be insecure. An agrarian law would soon take place. If these observations be just, our government ought to secure the permanent interests of the country against innovation. Land-holders ought to have a share in the government, to support these invaluable interests, and to balance and check the other. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body; and to answer these purposes, they ought to have permanency and stability. . . . [Yates, pp. 182-83.]

In the Yates account, in other words, Madison is essentially echoing Hamilton's appeal of June 18 that the power of the aristocracy "be permanent . . . capable of resisting the popular current. . . ." Madison's own notes, on the other hand, while they show him cognizant of the future danger from a landless proletariat, suggest only a solution "on republican principles." In both accounts the Senate, of course, is to represent "the preponderance of justice," but the conception of *Realpolitik* underlying Madison's position is more forcefully stated in the Yates account.

It has been noted that Madison was sharply critical of the Yates *Secret*

*Debates* in general, but his most determined attempt to discredit Yates was occasioned by Yates's account of one of his speeches of June 29. Although, as Farrand observes, Madison incorporated a portion of the account when he revised his own notes, he accused Yates of a number of "self-condemned" errors. "Who can believe," he wrote N. P. Trist in December, 1831, "that so crude and untenable a statement could have been made on the floor of the Convention as 'that the *several States* were political Societies, *varying* from the *lowest Corporations*, to the *highest sovereigns*' or 'that the States had vested *all the essential rights* of Government in the *old Congress*.'" <sup>13</sup> Yates, however, hardly deserved such censure, for in point of fact both statements are misquotations, not in Yates but of Yates. As the following excerpts show, Madison altered the Yates account, thereby exaggerating the conflict between the Yates report and his own notes.

Madison's notes  
June 29, 1787

Madison . . . thought too much stress was laid on the rank of the States<sup>14</sup> as political societies. There was a gradation, he observed from the smallest corporation, with the most limited powers, to the largest empire with the most perfect sovereignty. He pointed out the limitations on the sovereignty of the States as now confederated; (their laws in relation to the paramount law of the Confederacy were analagous to that of bye laws to the supreme law, within a State.)<sup>15</sup> Under the proposed Govt. the (powers of the States)<sup>16</sup> will be much further reduced. According to the views of every member, the Genl. Govt. will have powers far beyond those exercised by the British Parliament when the States were part of the British Empire. . . . [Farrand, I, 463-64.]

Yates's *Secret Debates*  
June 29, 1787

Madison. . . . Some contend, that States are sovereign, when, in fact, they are only political societies. There is a gradation of power in all societies, from the lowest corporation to the highest sovereign. The States never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty. These were always vested in Congress. Their voting as States, in Congress, is no evidence of sovereignty. . . . The States, at present, are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they are not contradictory to the general confederation. The States ought to be placed under the control of the general government; at least as much so as they formerly were under the King and British Parliament. . . . [Yates, pp. 199-200.]

It is curious, indeed, that Madison, in his letter to Trist, should have altered "essential rights of sovereignty" in Yates to "all the *essential rights* of Government." Perhaps he was quoting Yates from memory, but the substitu-

<sup>13</sup> Farrand, III, 517.

<sup>14</sup> According to Brant, in revising his notes Madison crossed out the word "equal" before "rank of the States." Brant, p. 86.

<sup>15</sup> Farrand observes: "Substance taken from Yates," I, 464.

<sup>16</sup> Originally "their character" in Madison's notes. Brant concludes that the original version contained "practically everything Yates ascribed to Madison . . . except the remark about by-laws." Brant, p. 86.



tion was of crucial importance. In the corrected, and original, form, the statement in Yates can be reconciled with Madison's own account of the limitations on the sovereignty of the states within the Confederation, and, in particular, his attempt to equate state laws in the Confederation to "bye laws . . . within a State." But by misquoting the Yates account of his speech, to the effect that Congress had possessed essential rights of *government* as distinct from an implied sovereignty, which was manifestly not true, Madison was able to discredit the Yates report.

Two years later, in a letter to W. C. Rives, Madison again commented on the Yates report of his speech of June 29, 1787. On this occasion, however, he correctly quoted the Yates account, and went some distance toward agreement with it. It was on Yates's authority alone, he wrote Rives, "that J. M. is charged with having said 'that the States never possessed the essential *rights of sovereignty*; that these were always vested *in Congress*.'" <sup>17</sup> Yates had misunderstood him, he cautioned Rives, but

It is quite possible that J. M. might have remarked that certain powers attributes of sovereignty had been vested in Congs; for that was true as to the powers of war, peace, treaties, &c. But that he should have held the language ascribed to him in the notes of Mr. Yates, is so far from being credible, that it suggests a distrust of their correctness in other cases where a strong presumptive evidence is opposed to it.

Again, J. M. is made to say "that the States were only great political corporations having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they were not contradictory to the general confederation."

Without admitting the correctness of this statement in the sense it seems meant to convey, it may be observed that according to the *theory* of the old confederation, the laws of the States contradictory thereto would be ineffectual. That they were not so in *practice* is certain. . . . <sup>18</sup>

But, again, the apparent attempt to correct Yates somewhat distorts Yates's account. For no one at the Convention, least of all Madison, argued that state laws, in practice, *were* ineffectual. Nor can it be believed that Yates was somehow confused as to Madison's position. In the Yates account Madison is engaged in an almost continuous examination of the weaknesses of the Confederation, and especially its inability to nullify "contradictory" state legislation.

Indeed, the notes of both Madison and Yates present Madison as a strong supporter of national supremacy. To be sure, in Madison's notes the national supremacy argument is linked to the interests of the smaller states, but an attempt to link the two was, after all, an imperative of Convention politics. At any rate, there can be little doubt that Madison thought in terms of "a

<sup>17</sup> Farrand, III, 521.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 522.

perfect incorporation" of the states under a national government. "In a word," he told the delegates on June 28,

the two extremes before us are a perfect separation & a perfect incorporation, of the 13 States. In the first case they would be independent nations subject to no law, but the law of nations. In the last, they would be mere counties of one entire republic, subject to one common law. In the first case the smaller states would have everything to fear from the larger. In the last they would have nothing to fear. The true policy of the small States therefore lies in promoting those principles & that form of Govt. which will most approximate the States to the condition of Counties. . . .<sup>19</sup>

It is also worth noting that Madison originally favored granting to the President or Congress a veto power over state laws "*in all cases whatsoever*,"<sup>20</sup> not merely in order to maintain the purity of the Constitution, but to prevent, in his own words, "a constant tendency in the States to encroach on the federal authority; to violate national Treaties, to infringe the rights & interests of each other; to oppress the weaker party within their respective jurisdictions."<sup>21</sup>

In the Yates account, of course, the complete rationale underlying Madison's position is often omitted; stripped of their nuances and shadings, his speeches are uncompromisingly nationalist. Similarly, Yates's rough transcripts give the impression that Madison's general political philosophy was rather closely related to Hamilton's. If, on the other hand, Madison's extensive notes are credited, Madison was more concerned with the preservation of the states, and less Hamiltonian in general than Yates suggests. The question, then, is: how important is the Yates *Secret Debates* in evaluating Madison's role in the Convention during the period that Yates was in attendance?

There is considerable corroborative evidence to support the Yates account of Madison's nationalism in 1787. To begin with, it should be noted that Yates presumably was able to make notes on Madison's speeches while Madison was speaking. Madison, we can assume, filled in his own notes only after the Convention concluded its daily sessions; he could hardly have had time, in the Convention, to write out his own speeches and those of the speakers who followed him. His reports of his own remarks, in other words, were probably included in his notes only after some delay, and after his speeches had been discussed, debated, or criticized. It is at least possible that

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 449.

<sup>20</sup> Letter to Thomas Jefferson, Mar. 19, 1787, *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, published by order of Congress (Philadelphia, 1865), I, 285. "The effects of this provision," Madison wrote, "would be not only to guard the national rights and interests against invasion, but also to restrain the States from thwarting and molesting each other; and even from oppressing the minority within themselves by paper money and other unrighteous measures which favor the interest of the majority."

<sup>21</sup> Farrand, I, 164.

Madison's report of some of his speeches, particularly those which were extemporaneous, was affected by the ensuing discussion or the effect of it on his own thinking. Yates, by contrast—although we cannot be certain of this—may have transcribed Madison's remarks as given. One thing is certain: Yates was remarkably silent in the Convention and apparently did little else but take notes on the debates.

But the most substantial support for the Yates account comes not from the Convention but from Madison's own writings apart from his Convention notes. The Yates account of Madison as a strong supporter of national supremacy is essentially consistent with Madison's essay *Vices of the Political System of the United States*, which was written in April, 1787. The principal "vices," Madison made clear, were the "failures," "encroachments," "violations," and "trespasses" of the states; and he was in agreement with Hamilton in noting that the Articles of Confederation had never received "ratification by the people."<sup>22</sup> Nor was he satisfied that the Convention had gone far enough in the direction of national supremacy. The "Father of the Constitution," his letters make clear, was hardly a proud parent. The Constitution, he wrote Jefferson on September 6, 1787, "will neither effectually answer its national object, nor prevent the local mischiefs which everywhere excite disgusts against the State Governments."<sup>23</sup> A year later he was no more enthusiastic. "I agreed to the Constitution," he observed to Philip Mazzei, October 8, 1788, "because I thought it safe to the liberties of the people, and the best that could be obtained from the jarring interests of States, and the miscellaneous opinions of Politicians; and because experience has proved that the real danger to America & liberty lies in the defect of *energy & stability* in the present establishments of the United States."<sup>24</sup>

There is little evidence, however, that either before or during the Convention Madison favored the obliteration of the states in what was then termed a "consolidated" government. There were, to be sure, a few delegates at Philadelphia who demanded the outright destruction of the states as governmental units, but in Madison's view the states were to play an important, although subsidiary role in the new national system. According to the Virginia Plan, which Madison undoubtedly drafted, the states were not only to be guaranteed a republican form of government and territorial integrity but they were also to nominate, through their legislatures, members of the upper and more important house of the national legislature. The term "consolidate," Madison pointed out in 1824, had not meant in the Convention

<sup>22</sup> *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 320–28.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 338.

<sup>24</sup> *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900–10), II, 67.

"destruction of the States," or the substitution of monarchical for republican government. "Consolidate," Madison wrote Henry Lee in June, 1824, meant the need "to give strength and solidity to the union of the States,"<sup>25</sup> through a strengthening of the authority of the central government.

The term "national," on the other hand, had a somewhat more extensive meaning in 1787 than the one Madison ascribed to it after publication of the Yates notes. The expression "National," Madison observed to Thomas Cooper in December, 1826, "as contradistinguished from the term 'federal,' . . . was not meant to express the *extent* of power, but the *mode* of its operation, which was to be not like the power of the old Confederation operating on States; but like that of ordinary Governments operating on individuals. . . ."<sup>26</sup> "National" in 1787 meant that, of course, but it also meant something more. It was used to signify a central government with a far greater "extent of power" than the Confederation government had enjoyed in practice, and about which there was some doubt it enjoyed in theory.<sup>27</sup> It referred to a government that was not only constitutionally superior to the states in the vital matters of sovereignty and jurisdiction, but a government that was able to maintain its sovereign position *over* the states.<sup>28</sup> In the context of the state rights controversy, Madison in 1826 had good reason to modify his earlier nationalism; 1826, after all, was more than halfway between the Constitutional Convention and the Civil War. But taking all the evidence into account, it is a fair conclusion that Madison's nationalism in 1787 was more accurately reported in the Yates notes than it was in his own notes and subsequent writings.

Similarly, although Yates exaggerated Madison's conservatism in the Convention, there is evidence that the *Secret Debates* are important in evaluating Madison's general political philosophy in 1787. To begin with, Madison's analysis, as distinct from his solution, of the basic problem in 1787, was not dissimilar, in certain respects, to Hamilton's diagnosis. "Representative appointments," he noted in the *Vices*, in a statement with which Hamilton would not have disagreed, "are sought from 3 motives: 1. Ambition. 2. Personal interest. 3. Public good. Unhappily, the two first are proved by experience to be most prevalent."<sup>29</sup> Much has been made of Madison's interpretation of "faction" set forth in the *Federalist* No. 10. There, he observed, factions may base themselves on different opinions concerning religion, govern-

<sup>25</sup> Letter to Henry Lee, June 25, 1824, in Farrand, III, 464.

<sup>26</sup> Letter to Thomas Cooper, Dec. 26, 1826, in *ibid.*, III, 474-75.

<sup>27</sup> See in particular Madison's speech of June 29, 1787, in *ibid.*, I, 463-64.

<sup>28</sup> "State sovereignty had virtually no place in the scheme of government Madison outlined to Washington, Randolph and Jefferson on the eve of the Constitutional Convention. The state governments were to be regarded as 'subordinately useful' local authorities subject to 'a due supremacy of the national legislature.'" Brant, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 325.

ment, "and many other points. . . . But the most common and durable source of factions, has been the various and unequal distribution of property."<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the attitude expressed in a letter to Jefferson, October 24, 1787, is Hamiltonian in the sense that, like Hamilton, Madison saw property as the only fundamental or "natural" source of social cleavage. "In all civilized societies," he suggested to Jefferson,

distinctions are various and unavoidable. A distinction of property results from that very protection which a free Government gives to unequal faculties of acquiring it. There will be rich and poor; creditors and debtors; a landed interest, a monied interest, a mercantile interest, a manufacturing interest. These classes may again be subdivided according to the different productions of different situations and soils, and according to different branches of commerce and manufactures. In addition to these natural distinctions, artificial ones will be founded on accidental differences in political, religious, or other opinions, or an attachment to the persons of leading individuals.<sup>31</sup>

Madison's analysis of "natural distinctions" in society led him to develop a conception of majority rule which was rather more qualified than Jefferson's, and he went further than Jefferson in demanding safeguards. Whereas Jefferson feared the tyranny of government, and believed that it was the natural tendency of government to encroach on majority rights and liberties, Madison was more concerned with the problem of tyranny *through* government as a result of majority power. Indeed, he clearly anticipated the modern conservative analysis of the welfare state in arguing, in 1788, that "In our Governments the real power lies in the majority of the community, and the invasion of private rights is *chiefly* to be apprehended, not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the constituents."<sup>32</sup> Although he was sympathetic to Jefferson's view, based on observations of "abuses of power issuing from a very different quarter," he nevertheless insisted that he was stating "a truth of great importance, but not yet sufficiently attended to."

Majority power was to be qualified by adopting, in Madison's words, a "middle way" with regard to the suffrage. Commenting on Jefferson's proposed constitution for Virginia, which gave the suffrage to "all free male citizens" with one year's residence in the state, Madison suggested that a

<sup>30</sup> John C. Hamilton, ed., *The Federalist* (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 106.

<sup>31</sup> *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 351.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 425. "There is no maxim, in my opinion," he wrote James Monroe, October 5, 1786, "which is more liable to be misapplied, and which, therefore, needs more elucidation, than the current one, that the interest of the majority is the political standard of right and wrong. Taking the word 'interest' as synonymous with 'ultimate happiness,' in which sense it is qualified with every necessary moral ingredient, the proposition is no doubt true. But taking it in the popular sense, as referring to the immediate augmentation of property and wealth, nothing can be more false. In the latter sense . . . it is only re-establishing, under another name and a more specious form, force as a measure of right. . . ." *Ibid.*, I, 250-51.

"freehold or equivalent of a certain value be annexed to the right of voting for Senators, and the right left more at large in the election of the other House."<sup>33</sup> To extend the suffrage to all citizens, Madison wrote Caleb Wallace in 1785, "or even to all who possess a pittance may throw too much power into hands which will either abuse it themselves or sell it to the rich who will abuse it."<sup>34</sup> The "middle way," he noted, would secure the two principal objects of government: personal rights and property rights. It might "offend the sense of equality," but he saw "no reason why the rights of property which chiefly bears the burden of Government & is so much an object of legislation should not be respected as well as personal rights in the choice of rulers."

In general, Madison placed greater emphasis than Jefferson on authority and property rights, and less emphasis on majority liberty. Unlike Jefferson, he did not believe that invariably "power tends to corrupt"; too much power in government could result from "abuses of liberty," and in 1788 the danger was from an insufficiency of power. "It has been remarked," he confided to Jefferson in a letter of October 17, 1788,

that there is a tendency in *all* Governments to an augmentation of power at the expense of liberty. But the remark, as usually understood, does not appear to me well founded. Power, when it has attained a certain degree of energy and independence, goes on generally to further degrees. But when below that degree, the direct tendency is to further degrees of relaxation, until the abuses of liberty beget a sudden transition to an undue degree of power. With this explanation the remark may be true; and in the latter sense only it is, in my opinion, applicable to the existing Governments in America.<sup>35</sup>

Placing the emphasis elsewhere, Madison differed with Jefferson and other liberal critics of the Constitution on the addition of a bill of rights. "I never thought the omission," he wrote Jefferson in the same letter, "a material defect, nor been anxious to supply it even by *subsequent* amendment, for any other reason than that it is anxiously desired by others."<sup>36</sup> He now favored a bill of rights, he continued, because "it might be of use, and, if properly executed, could not be of disservice." Clearly, his attitude toward a bill of rights was casual and even indifferent.

The evidence, in short, suggests that the Yates notes merit careful consideration in appraising Madison's position at the time of the Convention. The Yates account and Madison's own writings of the period tend to demonstrate that Madison analyzed the pre- and post-Convention scene in much

<sup>33</sup> "Remarks on Mr. Jefferson's 'Draught of a Constitution for Virginia,' sent from New York to Mr. John Brown, Kentucky, October 1788." *Ibid.*, I, 187.

<sup>34</sup> *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, II, 171-72.

<sup>35</sup> *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 426.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 424.



the same way as Hamilton; that both were supporters of national supremacy; and that both were disappointed that the Constitution, in Madison's words, did not "effectually answer its national object." They were also agreed on the primacy of economic divisions in society.

Beyond these points there was disagreement; it is not correct to observe that there was no difference between the two men "in fundamental principles of government."<sup>37</sup> It is quite clear that Yates exaggerated the Hamiltonian elements in Madison's Convention speeches if, indeed, he did not sharpen Hamilton's own critique of representative government. There is no evidence, for example, that Madison ever supported the major proposals in Hamilton's plan of government, nor was he in entire accord with the philosophy that had produced it. Although he distrusted majority power, he was much less willing than Hamilton to entrust government to a minority of the "rich and well-born." In general, the New Yorker demanded weight in government and was willing to achieve it at the expense of balance; Madison, it is clear, insisted on both.

But if Madison was to the "left" of Hamilton in certain respects, he was, in the early period, to the "right" of Jefferson in general outlook. The "Jeffersonian view," Adrienne Koch has succinctly commented,

placed greater confidence than the Madisonian in the people themselves. . . . Jefferson located the center of tyrannical infection in centralized power. Madison, on the contrary, located the center of tyrannical infection in the undisciplined and overbearing impulses of local majorities to trample on private rights (and property rights) of minorities.<sup>38</sup>

He was therefore more conservative than Jefferson in working out political equations for authority and liberty, and it was the former he chose to stress in 1787-1788. He did not, however, neglect the other side of the equation, and it is beyond dispute that he rapidly absorbed democratic views after the adoption of the Constitution. Needless to say, in 1787 democracy and republicanism did not go together, but it is important to note that Madison's republicanism was a seedbed for a future democracy. Indeed, the successful joining of democracy and republican government in the nineteenth century owes much to Madison's contribution at Philadelphia and subsequent career. The Yates notes and other documents are important in providing us with an understanding of Madison's position in 1787, but they should not confuse us as to his achievement.

*State University of Iowa*

<sup>37</sup> Charles A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1949), p. 51.

<sup>38</sup> Adrienne Koch, *Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration* (New York, 1950), pp. 43-44.

# Reviews of Books

## General History

THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY. By *Marie Collins Swabey*, Associate Professor of Philosophy in New York University. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. x, 257. \$3.75.)

VALEUR DE L'HISTOIRE. By *Joseph Hours*. [Initiation philosophique, Number 9.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1954. Pp. 89. 240 fr.)

PROFESSOR Swabey has written in her new book a critique of the historian's techniques and premises which few historians could equal in incisiveness. She has at her command a penetrating logic for critical purposes. Her intention is to controvert the present "tendency to accept the plasticity of the past and the perversions of myth," and "to state the case for historical truth, the rights of the inviolable past, and for values beyond the flux of temporality" (p. ix). Mrs. Swabey has carried out much of her assignment brilliantly. Her defense of "common sense history" in which man and his world are taken at face value could hardly be more persuasive. In her strictures on the historical relativists and a variety of determinists and naturalists she has an unerring aim for the vulnerable parts of their armor. She effectively champions Francis Parkman as an exemplar of "philosophical history," after a devastating analysis of the changing and self-contradictory assumptions of Charles Beard's historical writings.

The reputation of a distinguished historian like Beard, however, is not demolished by Mrs. Swabey's deft jabs, for she is herself not immune to criticism. This is all the more regrettable because the task she has undertaken of upholding the intrinsic power of ideas in history and the enduring core in the historian's reconstruction of the past still needs to be done tellingly. She has weakened her case by putting into her category of "scientific history" an assortment of historical outlooks which have only an adventitious connection with one another, while her other category of "philosophical history" is too exclusive. One gets the impression that Plato and Whitehead are the only high priests to consult for a philosophic state of grace, although her exposition of Whitehead is admirable. She overlooks the basic affinity between the empirical tradition and the scientific approach on the one hand and confidence in reason on the other. Spengler, who was contemptuous of both reason and science, is put with the scientific historians only because of his use of the biological metaphor. Toynbee is torn to shreds for weaknesses selected from his essays and the Somervell abridgment. She has him escaping "the deadliness of natural determinism" by mere "ingenuity" (p. 225), instead of recognizing that the very heart of the first six volumes of *A Study of History* is his restoration of the decisive role of human wills.

In her final chapter Mrs. Swabey is in a more charitable mood and discrimi-

nates perspicuously among three categories which depend on "whether the historian consults his desires, his senses or his concepts" (p. 230). Her plea for the "normative historian" is cogent but I think it would have been strengthened had she drawn on Collingwood.

The little book by Joseph Hours covers a large subject with lucidity and skillful brevity. It surveys the concept of history from its origins to the present giving particular attention to the emergence of the modern problem of historical knowledge arising out of relativism. M. Hours elucidates the basic characteristics of the historical enterprise and the postulates essential to it, distinguishing it from other disciplines which nonetheless fructify it. The claims he makes for history are modest but dignified.

*University of Rochester*

WILLSON H. COATES

SALVADOR DE SÁ AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BRAZIL AND ANGOLA, 1602-1686. By C. R. Boxer. (London: Athlone Press, University of London; distrib. by John de Graff, New York. 1952. Pp. xvi, 444. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR BOXER is, to our benefit, an innovator. His is the field of the East and especially of the East as affected by the Portuguese, a field little studied except by the Portuguese themselves and almost unknown to the English-reading public. His study of Salvador Correia de Sá e Benavides lies farther west on both sides of the Atlantic and may seem at first a new departure in his interests. But Salvador was a soldier and governor of an empire that even in the seventeenth century stretched far around the globe and what Salvador was doing in the Atlantic was a part of the life of the whole empire.

Our author touches little without adorning it. He has a gift for defining historical problems that enables him to use to the full his extraordinary knowledge of archival deposits in the East and the West. Documents in hand, he applies a disciplined imagination to the task of creating his account of what happened. His use of primary material is at once an example and a reproach to other writers who have dealt with his period on the basis of secondary works, and it is to be hoped that what he has dug up will stimulate further exploration of archives. His style is vigorous, sometimes individual in syntax, but always readable.

The outline of the book is simple: the life and career of Salvador in the government of the Portuguese Empire. The richness comes from the wealth of subordinated detail. Here we have an index to the value of Professor Boxer's book. So little is available in a trustworthy form concerning the history and institutions of the period that Professor Boxer finds it wise constantly to digress for a paragraph or so as each relatively unknown matter comes to hand. The result is that his book will become an indispensable reference for a wide variety of topics—the government, the church, the navy, the slave trade, and so forth. The reader, I think, will welcome such digressions, especially when they reflect in many cases

the use of hitherto unexplored material. His text is supplemented by a genealogy, a chronology, a glossary, a bibliography, and other aids.

The book opens with the struggle between the Netherlands and Spain at the time when Portugal was under Spanish domination. Following the formation of the Dutch West Indies Company and its attack on Brazil came a Portuguese-Spanish reaction to expel the Dutch. Through this period, Salvador, of a Portuguese family long connected with Brazil, rises in 1628 to become *alcaide-mor* of Rio de Janeiro. An interlude of five years thereafter finds him putting down Indian uprisings in the viceroyalty of Peru as an officer of both empires. Then he returned to Brazilian territory and, becoming governor of Rio de Janeiro in 1637, once more took up the struggle against the Dutch. It is in the handling of the final phase of that war that Professor Boxer makes his most substantial contribution. He clarifies the position of Salvador in the creation and execution of the strategy that sought to undermine the Dutch in the sugar fields of Brazil by depriving them of the slave markets that they had captured in Angola. With the loss of "the black mother," Brazil became an uneconomic holding for the Dutch, just as the recovery of Angola gave the Portuguese the labor that they needed. As general of the Brazil fleet, Salvador was at his best and it is to the reader's advantage that Professor Boxer gives two chapters to this phase of his career. With the Dutch out of the way, Salvador then became captain-general of the south and took up problems of finding gold, maintaining order, and encouraging colonization. In 1663, he returned to Portugal and served on both the Overseas Council and the Council of War. His death occurred between 1681 and 1687.

*Vanderbilt University*

ALEXANDER MARCHANT

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Edited by *Pierre Renouvin*. Volume II, DE CHRISTOPHE COLOMB A CROMWELL. By *Gaston Zeller*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1953. Pp. 326. 850 fr.)

THIS book is concerned with "diplomacy and war" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An introductory chapter gives a succinct but informative account of the manners of diplomacy in this period and describes the slow and gradual growth of customs' systems separating the greater political units from each other. In its chief parts the book provides a factual narration of developments in the diplomatic and military sphere. Probably the "handbook character" of the series, of which this book forms the second volume, asks for a comprehensive and detailed treatment of negotiations and treaties; the result is that the reading is sometimes heavy going, although the presentation never lacks clarity and precision.

Certain interpretations—like the emphasis on the traditional aspects of Richelieu's foreign policy and the rather negative view of Mazarin's diplomacy—stand out as reflecting the special research which the author has done on these topics, but it is clear that a book of this sort will not be based on new and original investiga-

tions. Its originality lies in its organization around geographical principles. Europe—or more correctly the world—is divided into a number of areas; the policy pursued in each of these areas is regarded as having an autonomous character determined by the physical nature of the area and is treated in a special section. The book is divided into two parts—one dealing with the sixteenth, the other with the seventeenth century—but both parts are organized in a very similar manner. “The Problems of the Ocean” is a special chapter, subdivided into sections on the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic Sea. There is a chapter on “Western Europe,” concerned with the rivalries of the Great Powers in this area, and then the affairs of “Eastern Europe and Asia” are discussed in a separate chapter.

This manner of organization has the advantage that events happening in border areas, which in books of this kind are frequently neglected or superficially treated, receive careful attention and are fully explained. But an unavoidable result of this manner of organization is that repetitions occur. The picture of the political aims and methods of a statesman is frequently blurred because, as in the case of Gustavus Adolphus, he makes his appearance in different chapters. However, the chief disadvantage of this method of organization is that the account of the politics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lacks a center and individual character. Consciously and unconsciously, those historical factors which might have formed a unifying dynamism and transcended the division into separate areas are slighted.

In an interesting, but somewhat debatable, discussion the author insists that the influence of the religious division of European politics has been overemphasized. He denies that the Peace of Westphalia represents an important break in European developments. The importance of the economic factor is clearly seen in the chapter on the “Problems of the Ocean,” but the impact of these developments on the relative strength of the Great Powers in western Europe and on the outcome of their rivalries does not emerge.

The author shows a sovereign mastery of a great mass of material, and my main criticism is that he sticks pedantically to the framework set for this series. The reader becomes hardly aware—behind the well-marshaled facts—of the concrete historical forces of this period.

*Bryn Mawr College*

FELIX GILBERT

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Edited by *Pierre Renouvin*. Volume IV, LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE ET L'EMPIRE NAPOLÉONIEN. By *André Fugier*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1954. Pp. 422. 1100 fr.)

THE first volume of this commendable series, *Le Moyen Age* by Professor François L. Ganshof, appeared in 1953 (*AHR*, October, 1953, pp. 182–83). The second, *De Christophe Colomb à Cromwell* (see above) and the third, *De Louis*

XIV à 1789, both by Gaston Zeller, followed later in the same year. With the fourth now available the series seems to be headed for completion in record time. The three that remain, *De 1815 à 1871*, *De 1871 à 1914*, and *Les crises du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* are all slated to be written by Professor Renouvin himself. His acknowledged mastery of nineteenth- and twentieth-century history is an assurance that they will maintain the high standard of their predecessors.

The fourth volume, by André Fugier, reviewed here, offers a panoramic survey of the international scene from 1789 to 1814, an appraisal of remarkable scope and detachment. Far from limiting himself to diplomatic history, Professor Fugier achieves a synthesis that includes the interplay of political, economic, military, diplomatic, and cultural factors. The foreign policy of every important state is clearly and succinctly related to its internal structure and problems. The dominant ideas of the revolutionary age, the impact of science and technology, the influence of religious institutions, evangelical fervor, and missionary enterprise are all evaluated. Nor does M. Fugier fail to make clear how the Napoleonic wars affected the relations of Europe with other continents, weakening its political ties with the Americas and abating or postponing European pressures on the peoples of the Orient.

As might be expected, the wars waged by France against the successive coalitions claim the center of the stage throughout most of the volume. But the European convulsions during that tumultuous quarter century are viewed in just proportion and related to contemporary events and trends outside Europe. Three of the twelve chapters and two of the five maps are concerned with developments on other continents.

Such resolute broadening of the focus is, of course, in accord with the prevailing trend of postwar historiography. The time has passed when the history of modern Europe could be presented with little or no regard for its global context. It is significant that Fugier, under Renouvin's direction, devotes six per cent of his space to the New World at a period (1789-1814) when the Americas held less than three per cent of the global population.

Further evidence of the more prominent position America has come to occupy in European thought may be found in the chapter bibliographies where books and articles by North and South American scholars are mentioned with gratifying frequency. Chapter xi, for instance, on the "Emancipation du Nouveau Monde," closes with a list of thirty-four titles of which thirty-two have a New World imprint.

*Ithaca, New York*

GEOFFREY BRUUN

MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: A STUDY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ATLANTIC ECONOMY. By *Brinley Thomas*. [The National Institute of Economic and Social Research: Economic and Social



Studies, XII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954. Pp. xxv, 362. \$8.00.)

IN this economic analysis of British transatlantic investment and migration after 1830, Professor Brinley Thomas of Cardiff successfully challenges a number of accepted interpretations. He denies the significance (seen by Harry Jerome) of the concurrent British and American business cycles. Rather, the Atlantic countries stood until 1914 in an inverse, complementary relationship. In his words: "When the United States experienced a strong upsurge of activity, she absorbed large quantities of labour and capital from Britain and the rate of growth in the latter country slackened. Then, when the American system was digesting what it had swallowed, Britain's appetite for home investment would increase and her real income would grow faster than usual, while her exports of men and money became negligible. There was no such thing as an international long cycle" (p. 108).

He also modifies Jerome's corollary that immigrants generally were "pulled" by American opportunities and not "pushed" by European hardships. The American economy was influenced most strongly, he believes, by those peasants whom Malthusian crises had ejected from Europe. The Irish and Germans of the 1850's, both as laborers and as consumers, set the pace of fixed capital investment in America. Although after the Civil War the American economy entered a new phase in which investment preceded and in general stimulated immigration, once again the waves of Germans, Scandinavians, and Italians of the 1880's and 1900's "had the character of evacuations" (p. 118). This supply of cheap, unskilled labor speeded the mechanization of American industry.

Curiously, however, this "study of Great Britain and the Atlantic economy" all but ignores the skilled newcomers from Britain, men and women who helped bring American technology abreast of that of their homeland. Not his "small *élite*" (p. 228), they by the thousands responded to the "pull" of high wages which America offered for their initially indispensable skills. The British and their children not only were able rapidly to climb the American social-economic ladder, as Professor Thomas notes; many of them began on a high rung.

Again, it is the reluctance of unskilled British laborers to compete with machinery run by poorly paid southeastern Europeans to which he attributes the decline of British immigration to the United States after 1900. But would not the skilled hands likewise hesitate? What place was there for British-trained craftsmen in an America whose technology was racing ahead of that of Britain? For, as Professor Thomas laments, after 1900 British investors once more sent capital overseas (this time to the Dominions) and let home industry stagnate.

The statistics upon which this book rests—erratic as the author shows them to be—leave serious gaps in the economic account of British migration to America. Harder to come by but equally important is the evidence of various demands for specialized labor—in textile mills and machine shops, potteries and tinplate works, quarries and mines.

"The problems under review," Professor Thomas suggests, "offer ideal opportunities for co-operation between economists and economic historians" (p. 166). He has here admirably carried out the economist's share of the task.

Princeton University.

ROWLAND T. BERTHOFF

POLITICS AND OPINION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. By *John Bowle*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. 512. \$4.50.)

THIS survey of European political theory from Herder to Durkheim continues the kind of scholarship Mr. Bowle showed us in his *Western Political Thought*.

There are probably few readers who will quarrel with Mr. Bowle's commitment to "the principles of rationality, of justice, compassion and freedom . . . reinforced by science." We are all liberals; we are all humanists. There will be many scholars, however, who, while sympathizing with Mr. Bowle's principles and admiring his avoidance of jargon and his use of wit, will not accept without serious question his several judgments and assumptions.

His survey of many of the writers is at best competent, if conventional. The tactics with "difficult" thinkers such as Hegel and Nietzsche reveal Mr. Bowle's weakness. He has read Sabine's revised opinion of Hegel and Kaufmann on Nietzsche. Hegel and Nietzsche cannot thus be attacked directly but can be criticized "for what they led to." Kaufmann and Sabine somehow turn out to be beside the point. The usual attacks are made on Carlyle and Sorel and other sub-rationalists. But the "dangerous consequences" of utilitarianism, and rationalism in general, are passed over. The words totalitarian and ideology are used in discussing men like St. Simon, in violation of any sense of historical appropriateness.

Mr. Bowle is rightly interested in how liberal humanist civilization, which promised so much at its high tide a half century ago, was forced onto the defensive. In trying to account for this change he deals easily with many ideas, particularly when they nourish his own admirable wishes for mankind. He is less comfortable and satisfactory when he is working out the processes by which ideas exert their influences and change their nature in history. His conception of intellectual history is perhaps too simple. He does not see whirlpools, rapids, and hidden coves. For him culture is a straight, smooth flow, not a twisting torrent. Close textual analysis and historical understanding are often sacrificed to classification of men and ideas. This easily degenerates into a "cops and robbers" theory of culture with the "good guys" opposing the "bad guys."

Hasn't Mr. Bowle seen, as George Orwell did in his essay on H.G. Wells, how totalitarianism draws not only from "irrationalism" but also from what most generous minds believed in before 1914: rationalized administration, a secular culture, "planning," science, internationalism, and the other Wellsian and Shavian ideals? Why does he not consider the threat of universalist and internationalist

movements in the twentieth century which, as Hannah Arendt has helped to show, have been the great disturbers of peace and destroyers of liberty in our time?

Mr. Bowle "leads to" a kind of culture in which political ideas will be so unambiguous as to be incapable of bad consequences. We can be sure that this is not his intention. He knows that in real politics, especially in the politics of liberalism, there are few such ideas. All good ideas are complex, dangerous, and force us to take chances. They are supposed to do just that.

*Columbia University*

BERNARD W. WISBY

THE ORIGINS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. By *Robert Paul Browder*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 256. \$5.00.)

THIS is a workmanlike and useful survey of the rocky road of Soviet-American relations, with emphasis on the periods preceding and following United States recognition, 1929-1935, prefaced by a brief review of their relations from the March Revolution to the onset of the depression. Here, a somewhat fuller analysis of the conflicting motives and aims which shaped the American policy of intervention would have been appropriate, and Dr. Browder has accepted a little too completely the now traditional view that America's participation in it was primarily a concession to the pressures of its allies. A brief description of successive and incompatible Soviet interpretations of the American intervention would have been a pertinent illustration of the Kremlin's facility for turning historiography to political uses.

Dr. Browder has given a careful and realistic analysis of the role of trade and "technical assistance" in the development of Soviet industry during the first five-year plan and the American depression. Only access to the records of major American firms would add substantially to it. The effect of the Japanese aggression in Manchuria in bringing Soviet and American interests into partial alignment has been traced with skill. The ripening of the American decision to offer recognition has been well told, and Roosevelt's negotiations with Litvinov are set forth with care. Dr. Browder shows with objectivity how the underlying disagreements between the concepts and aims of the two governments were plastered over with verbal formulas, leaving the issues unresolved. His analysis of the campaign for and against recognition, and of the reactions of public opinion to the issues as they were presented, can stand as a model of clarity.

Dr. Browder has given a clear and objective treatment of the disillusionment that followed close upon recognition. Soviet refusal to make a debt settlement without a loan, the inability of both sides to undertake an active policy of opposition to Japan's policy in China, and finally the revival of the issue of Comintern intervention in American affairs, were stages in the failure of recognition to exert any tangible influence on either American or Soviet policy. Dr. Browder's final assessment of the significance of recognition is a judicious one.

The interpretation of the program of the 1935 Comintern Congress (p. 209) overemphasizes the "united front" policy, and overlooks its foreshadowing of the "popular front" and "people's democracy" strategy, which has been applied so effectively since 1944 (see Kermit E. McKenzie, "The Soviet Union, the Comintern and World Revolution: 1935," *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1950, pp. 214-37). The Chinese Eastern Railway is referred to as the "Chinese and Eastern Railway" (p. 53).

Columbia University

PHILIP E. MOSELY

## Ancient and Medieval History

EVERYDAY LIFE IN BABYLON AND ASSYRIA. By *Georges Contenau*. Authorized translation by K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 324. \$5.00.)

FIRST published in 1950 as a volume in the popular French series, "La vie quotidienne," this work now appears in an admirable English translation augmented by a large number of illustrations and a few additional footnotes and bibliographical items. Dr. Contenau is one of the foremost Assyriologists of our time whose authoritative *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* (4 vols., 1927-47) and numerous monographs have established his mastery of archaeological and linguistic studies relating to ancient Western Asia. The present volume surveys a cross-section of life in Mesopotamia during the late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods from approximately 700 to 530 B.C. This period of 170 years in the history of a civilization which endured for some twenty-six centuries is selected because it is richest in source materials and is "truly representative of Mesopotamian civilization." The latter point may not be readily accepted by many readers who may well feel that the earlier centuries, when the Sumerians created this civilization and the Babylonians of Hammurabi's time refashioned it, were more significant than the later Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian phases when its creativeness was largely spent. Nevertheless, all will welcome this judicious résumé of all aspects of Mesopotamian life.

Dr. Contenau interprets "everyday life" in the broadest sense to include thought ("the heart of book") and religion, and he devotes half his space (chaps. III, IV) to these subjects. It is in this half, particularly, that the author finds his self-imposed chronological limits too restrictive, and in order to gain necessary perspective and understanding he is forced continually to refer to earlier developments. This is all to the good, for the result comes close to being a general survey of the whole sweep of Mesopotamian literature and religion. The first two chapters deal with the material side of the civilization. Chapter I ("General Information") has as its main divisions "The Structure of Society," "Everyday Life," and "Labour and Trade." Chapter II is concerned with the "King and State." In this

first half of the book the variety and richness of the source materials from the period selected for study becomes apparent. ". . . We know more of the trivial details of everyday family life under the Sargonid dynasty of Assyria than we know, for example, of that of the Norman peasant" (p. 1). Yet even here frequent reference is made to earlier antecedents. Discussions of art are liberally scattered throughout the volume.

The one map, select index, and short bibliography are satisfactory, but the serious reader will miss a more complete and consistent documentation.

*Tulane University*

NELS M. BAILKEY

TITHES AND PARISHES IN MEDIEVAL ITALY: THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF A MODERN PROBLEM. By *Catherine E. Boyd*, Associate Professor of History, Carleton College. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1952. Pp. xi, 280. \$4.00.)

THIS monograph, which began in part as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of Dr. George La Piana of Harvard University nearly twenty years ago, is to be welcomed as a solid, comprehensive, and critically objective treatment of an important problem which is still very much alive in Italy. In fact, the long controversy inaugurated by the act of the Italian parliament in 1887 abolishing compulsory ecclesiastical tithes, but at the same time confirming the legality of the dominical tithe or perpetual land rent based on a portion of the produce and paid to the landlord, stimulated Miss Boyd to investigate the historical origins and development of tithes in Italy. The first two chapters are concerned with the problem of tithes in Italy from the closing decades of the last century and with the origin of the ecclesiastical tithes in general. They thus constitute an excellent and necessary background for the whole work. In a series of twelve subsequent chapters, the author gives a systematic account of the development of tithes in Italy from the close of antiquity to about 1300, but without neglecting to indicate at least briefly the function of tithes in fact and theory from the late Italian Middle Ages to the present time. She has examined firsthand and in great detail the documentary evidence available for Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, and Emilia, i.e., for northern and central Italy. She has presented also the results of her researches based on a liberal sampling of documents covering southern Italy and Sicily.

The ecclesiastical tithe was gathered chiefly from rural areas, and there was the closest relationship between the tithe and the development and life of the parish. Miss Boyd has therefore emphasized this relationship throughout her book. She describes in detail the origin and evolution of the Italian parish, the development of baptismal churches and proprietary churches, the relations between the lower clergy, the higher clergy, and the lay aristocracy, and their respective roles in regard to the parishes and, in particular, to the imposition, gathering, and

distribution of the tithes. Her book thus constitutes a most valuable contribution to the history of the Italian parish in the Middle Ages. Special attention is called to the account of the development of the Italian parishes in the early Middle Ages and their gradual subjection and feudalization by the early eleventh century as reflected in the *Constitutio de Feudis* of Conrad II in 1037 (chaps. III and V), to the treatment of the Gregorian reform against the background of tithes and parishes—the grass roots of medieval culture, as the author so aptly puts it in her preface—and of the failure of that great reform, in spite of its many successes, to eliminate lay domination in rural parishes and in proprietary churches (chap. VI), to the description of the Italian parochial system in the twelfth century (chap. VIII), to the story of the struggle between the episcopate and the communes over tithes and clerical immunities (chap. X), and, finally, to the valuable analysis of tithes and rents as described in medieval Italian agrarian contracts (chap. XII).

In a conclusion, which is characterized by a penetrating examination and scrupulously careful interpretation of historical data, Miss Boyd is able to state that, down to the end of the thirteenth century, in northern and central Italy the ecclesiastical tithe was the general rule and the dominical tithe a dubious exception; that, in the south, there is somewhat better evidence for the existence of the dominical tithe and from an early date, but here too the ecclesiastical tithe would seem to have been the normal one; that the major portion of the ecclesiastical tithe in medieval Italy never belonged to the parish churches or had any real connection with religious functions as such.

The book contains four valuable appendixes, a good bibliography, and an adequate index. In the handling of many difficult texts, Miss Boyd has shown unusual competence and accuracy. And, in spite of the specialized nature of the subject matter, she has succeeded in writing a very readable book. The following minor criticisms and suggestions are offered: the passage ascribed to St. Ambrose on pages 59–60 is not his but is found in pseudo-Ambrose or Ambrosiaster, and the reference should be 497, not 471; on page 63, line 7 from end, for Monsieur read Monsignor. To the bibliography the following works might well be added: Henry G. J. Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century* (Rome, 1950), especially pp. 43–84; Owen J. Blum, O.F.M., *St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life* (Washington, 1947), especially pp. 169–97.

This monograph is an outstanding contribution to historical scholarship. It does honor to its author and also to its sponsor, the American Historical Association.

*Catholic University of America*

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

ESSEX SESSIONS OF THE PEACE, 1351, 1377–1379. Edited with an Introduction by *Elizabeth Chapin Furber*. [Essex Archaeological Society, Occasional



Publications, Number 3.] (Colchester: Wiles and Son for the Society. 1953. Pp. ix, 216. 35s.)

THE records of the sessions of the peace comprised in this volume span some of the most troubled years of the fourteenth century. Unhappily neither "roll" is a complete record of the sessions for the year or years which it represents. Yet fragmentary as these records are, their survival through the circumstance that the King's Bench went to Chelmsford in 25 Edward II and again in 3 Richard II is fortunate. They are the only known medieval rolls for Essex and, although nothing "new" of a legal nature is, according to the editor, to be found in them, nonetheless they do add significant detail to the total mass of evidence available for study of medieval society and its criminal law.

For example, they do illustrate the medieval jurors' rejection of the strait jacket of technical terminology (discussed by Professor Plucknett in Miss Putnam's *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace*) and their human tendency to elaborate extenuating or intensifying detail of the defendant's guilty acts. They do show, after a great deal of hard work on the part of the editor in identifying names, that juries at this time were not aristocratic but represented all lay classes in the community from the wealthier landholders to the Barstable mariners. They also illustrate the leniency of medieval criminal law. Conviction did not often follow indictment for felony. It was more common in trespass, for which the penalty was most often a fine, and felony was sometimes scaled down to trespass. Those who did not appear in answer to either sort of indictment seem to have had a good chance of escape. Pardons could be readily, although perhaps expensively, bought. Altogether the records suggest that the justices were more interested in the financial proceeds of justice than in the liquidation of felons.

For the general reader, the main interest of the volume lies in the "broad picture of lawlessness and labour unrest during the years between the Black Death and the Great Revolt in a county which was a leader in that revolt." The editor's view is that the stringent enforcement of the labor laws (in 1351 the justices took fines from 7500 persons, in "other words from *at least* one out of every six adults in the county"), which probably continued throughout the period, explains the violence of the Essex insurgents in 1381 against some of the local gentry who had served on commissions. An American reader finds himself irresistibly, though perhaps morbidly, attracted to the doings of Lord John Fitzwalter, a man of good family and great possessions but nonetheless a familiar racketeer type. When the king pardoned Fitzwalter in June, 1352, a list of his offenses incorporated into the document read like the index to a record of indictments for a whole county. The reason for the pardon becomes clear when we find that he spent the last ten years of his life buying back from the king his confiscated estates.

The publication of this volume is another star in the diadem of Professor Bertha Putnam's life work on the medieval justices of the peace, and Mrs. Furber

maintains the high standard of editing and analysis that we expect from Miss Putnam's collaborators in this valiant enterprise.

*New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University*

MARGARET HASTINGS

MEHMED DER EROBERER UND SEINE ZEIT: WELTENSTÜRMER  
EINER ZEITENWENDE. By *Franz Babinger*. (Munich: F. Bruckmann  
Verlag. 1953. Pp. xiv, 592. DM 36.)

SCHOLARS in the West have long lamented the lack of a satisfactory biography of the Turkish conqueror of Constantinople. It was only fitting that in the year of the five hundredth anniversary of that event such a biography should appear. This is not an effort put out quickly to take advantage of the occasion. It is a solid and thorough work.

The life of Sultan Mehmed II is traced in great detail from his birth in 1432 to his death in 1481. The training he received as a young prince at Amasya and Manisa is most revealing and the difficulty of his position as sultan upon his father's voluntary retirement are well explained. Some may feel that too much space is devoted to the taking of Constantinople and its effect upon the varying Western views of Mehmed II and the Turks. Professor Babinger rightly contends that Ottoman society had been affected by Byzantine and Western contacts for more than one hundred years before the conquest to such an extent that the act itself did not produce the shock upon Ottoman political and social life that Western scholars have usually imagined. However, he does not permit this recognition to minimize the significance of the conquest to the Turkish people. The full circle of the conqueror's life is brought forth in the final chapter (more than one hundred pages) on his personality and on the intellectual and artistic life which he stimulated within the empire.

The author has enriched his work by adding interesting details concerning the many personages who appear on the scenes of the conqueror's life. The pages are full of such diverse personalities as Gentile Bellini, the Venetian artist, Hersekoglu Ahmed, the suave, brilliant Balkan princeling turned Ottoman, and Gedik Ahmed, the burly, brusque, and capable general and vizir. With the many minor individuals standing out in considerable detail, the study contributes a more rounded conception of Ottoman life in the fifteenth century.

Naturally in such a work as this, anyone who has given considerable study to this particular period and the literature about it will find details wherein he will disagree with the presentation in this volume. However, Professor Babinger has given here an excellent and true portrait of a man little understood by his own people in his own day and so frequently misrepresented ever since.

*Ohio State University*

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

## Modern European History

MUSIC IN THE RENAISSANCE. By *Gustave Reese*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1954. Pp. xvii, 1022. \$15.00.)

It is a curious fact that historians of the Renaissance, while discussing literature, learning, and the visual arts at length, have as a general rule ignored music. Until the last few years they could plead with some justice that there was relatively little material about Renaissance music available. The musicologists of the past generation, however, have done much to remedy that defect. Those who have ears to hear can now listen to a good deal of the best music of the period in recorded form. And any remaining excuse for neglecting an art that was intimately related to the life of Renaissance people has been finally removed by the publication of Gustav Reese's masterly study, *Music in the Renaissance*.

This is in every respect a magnificent book, comprehensive in scope, completely erudite yet entirely readable, and so carefully organized that it can serve the needs of every type of reader from the general historian whose interest in music is no more than peripheral to the most specialized musicologist. It is a book, in fact, that may be read at many different levels. The general historian will find introductory sections which place music in its relation to the social and cultural developments of the period. Reading further, he will find biographical sketches of the outstanding composers and a great deal of interesting information about the social setting of music and about the musical interests of such varied characters as Lorenzo the Magnificent, Leo X, Ercole d'Este, Rabelais, Henry VIII, and Martin Luther. If he is not musically illiterate, he may also follow much of the technical discussion, aided by the large number of brief but well-chosen examples. But, even if he is forced to pass over these, he cannot escape being infected with the author's conviction that here is God's plenty of lovely music; and if he is not inspired to listen to such of it as is available, he is but fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils.

From the point of view of the general historian, one of the most illuminating aspects of Professor Reese's study is the evidence it furnishes to support, modify, or correct current notions about the general character of the Renaissance. The pre-eminence and seminal influence of northern France and the Netherlands in the fifteenth century, the relative unimportance of Italian music in the great period of her achievement in the visual arts, the vigorous leadership in music asserted by Italy when her golden age in the other arts had passed its peak, and the reinvigorating influence exerted by Italy on English music in the age of the Elizabethan madrigal, finally the cumulative evidence of increasing secular content in Renaissance culture, these are but a few of the problems which the cultural historian will be forced to consider by the material here presented.

A brief review can do no more than scratch the surface of a work of such magnitude. A final word, however, should be said about the footnotes, biblio-

graphy, and index, which are masterpieces in themselves. They are ingeniously tied together by a system of abbreviation which seems rather bewildering at first sight but which is easily mastered and thereafter serves to guide the reader unerringly through all the intricacies of the book.

*New York University*

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

STORIA D'INGHILTERRA. Volume II, LA NAZIONE DAL 1066 AL 1307. Volume III, LA NAZIONE DAL 1307 AL 1603. By *Mario M. Rossi*. [La Civiltà Europea.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1952, 1953. Pp. 425; 644. L. 2500, 4000.)

In these two new volumes of his *History of England* Professor Rossi achieves the difficult task of detailing the rise and development of the English nation from the Norman Conquest through Elizabeth's reign. The multitudinous facts and the fearful complexities of the political, dynastic, and military vicissitudes of more than half a millennium of English history described in the thousand pages of these volumes never for a moment obscure the fundamental elements in the evolving pattern of an original, almost unique, national civilization. The author's technical and methodological apparatus in the performance of his task evinces a preparation that is little short of heroic, a skill quite worthy of the best classic historical writing. In this, perhaps his most ambitious and mature work, Professor Rossi once again reveals the genuine touch of the true critical master whose product carries the stamp of infinite pains and intelligence and becomes a labor of love by a mind restlessly in search of the truth. In this search Professor Rossi would strangely be false to himself if he placed the comfortable blindfolds of scheme and thesis upon his acute intellectual eyes. This he never does. But it would be absurd to expect that a man who has for so long and so deeply meditated upon and worked in English history had not assumed some sort of working hypothesis to give his monumental labors a sense of direction and a possible final meaning. With sensitiveness and integrity Professor Rossi suggests rather than reveals the master-threads of his historical reconstruction. He thus sees the larger and more enduring elements of England's historic destiny (a word he does not belabor in its excessively cosmic, Spenglerian, or Churchillian sense) emerge from the interplay of a sort of dual dialectical process: a series of tensions, of parallel yet related conflicts of an external and internal nature, frequently functions of each other.

In Professor Rossi's account English external politics oscillates from an "Insular" to a "Continental" phase until, with the Tudors and particularly with Elizabeth, a refraction occurred which split the landward Continental interest from the novel, dynamic, thalassic-imperial sphere (III, 559-60). Within the framework of this long quest for an "international" center of gravity, English national life took shape and direction. Contrary to the belief and wish of "certain

utopians," England was not destined by God or other gods to be "the promised land of liberalism, the model of constitutionality, a democracy in perpetual progress." English history is rather "a succession of incidents and of measures and of political acts" which ultimately succeeded in shaping a balance between English monarchy and English "liberties." From the "Magna Carta" of Henry I to the Stuarts and beyond, there never was a deliberate effort toward the transformation or evolution of the state in a liberal-democratic sense. "If some progress in this sense has taken place," Professor Rossi states, "it has been due to circumstances independent of deliberate will, [and rather to] the mechanical development of economic and social forces" (II, 66-67).

The last phrase—"the mechanical development of economic and social forces"—is at once a suggestive and a questionable, or at least equivocal, expression of what a careful reading of Professor Rossi's work reveals as a key methodological concept and a major thematic evaluation. In his treatment of the evolution of fundamental English institutions, Professor Rossi apparently utilizes the rather fertile technique, often even the terminology, of the theory of the political class. Paretan or Moscan as his reading may be—it seems fortunately closer to the latter—"mechanical" appears hardly appropriate to describe the character of the clash and contrast of political, economic, and social forces so acutely dissected by the author throughout his two volumes. The sixteenth-century phenomenon, to cite only one example, so brilliantly discussed in the beautiful chapter titled "Christ, the Robbers, and the Poor" (III, 465-98), is presented as a historic drama involving the tragic conflict of individual and collective wills, interests, and goals. Professor Rossi's approach and treatment of this drama is nondeterministic, nonmechanical, humanistic. The grave and recurring contrasts between tradition and innovation, challenge and resistance, war and peace, Elizabethan economic, political, and cultural splendor and the decay and poverty of the humbler classes of the English people, the dynamics of an incipient capitalistic economy and the frustrated religious afflatus among the poor and the disinherited, all these and more so vividly and carefully and humanly drawn and projected onto Professor Rossi's vast canvas, are there to attest to the eminently nonmechanical moving forces of the English historical *commedia*.

By the close of the suggestive final chapter Professor Rossi has taken England to the "dawn" of a new era. We shall await most eagerly his genial and secure guidance, in the next two volumes, through the tumultuous times of England's great experiment with empire and strange hegemony.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640-1641: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF ITS MEMBERS. By *Mary Frear Keeler*, Lecturer in History, Wellesley College. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 36.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1954. Pp. ix, 410. \$6.00.)

For nearly forty years American and British historians have been interested in the lives of the members of the English House of Commons. Wallace Notestein and J. E. Neale have directed many students on both sides of the Atlantic into this wide field of research. In recent years a project to compile a history of parliament through the lives of its members has been inaugurated in England under the direction of Neale and Sir Lewis Namier. Except for Lord Wedgwood's two volumes, which appeared under different auspices nearly twenty years ago, no part of this work has been published.

Mrs. Keeler's *Long Parliament* has no connection with the English history of parliament. Initially inspired and directed by Wallace Notestein, she has worked for over twenty years; and her labors have borne magnificent fruit.

Mention must here be made of *Members of the Long Parliament* by D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington published in England a few months before the appearance of Mrs. Keeler's book. It is a great temptation to compare the two studies, but it is hardly warranted in this review. Suffice it to say that though they occasionally impinge on each other, Mrs. Keeler's work with its hundreds of biographical sketches goes far beyond the essay based on much careful research produced by Messrs. Brunton and Pennington. (See *AHR*, October, 1954, p. 81.)

*The Long Parliament* is divided into three parts: "Portrait of a Parliament," "Elections and Returns," and "Biographical Dictionary of the Parliament Men," with the first two serving as introductions to the third. Though Mrs. Keeler has sketched the lives of 547 members, it is unfortunate but understandable that she has had to put arbitrary limits to her work. She has confined herself to the first fourteen months of the Long Parliament. Her "Parliament Men" are the original members and those sent to the house before January, 1642, through by-elections and because of restored parliamentary boroughs. It is a shame that approximately 275 "recruiters" find no place in this extremely able book.

In her brief biographies the author's object is to present the member of parliament as he was when elected to the House of Commons in November, 1640. His career is followed from birth to death but is heavily weighted for the years before 1642. Mrs. Keeler has been able to identify every one of her members with only an occasional doubt or possible confusion between father and son of the same first name. Each brief biography is most readable and in this respect is comparable in many instances to the lives in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Of the 547 members in Mrs. Keeler's work, 173 appear in that great compendium; and she corrects and adds information to many articles in the *D.N.B.*

In each of her biographies the author displays through her numerous footnotes the tremendous breadth and depth of her sources. She has consulted every possible printed work, as far as I can tell, as well as a vast number of manuscripts of all types. They include a large number of manuscript borough records, the invaluable W. D. Pink manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, and a host of others.



This scholarly apparatus appears in all three sections of Mrs. Keeler's work, of which the first, "Portrait of a Parliament," covering nearly thirty pages in double column (employed throughout) of this beautifully produced oversize quarto book, is in many respects the most interesting. I should like to devote my entire review to this part with its fascinating statistics and conclusions about the 310 parliamentarians, 182 royalists, 44 reformers who became royalists, 6 straddlers, and 5 unclassified members. Their ages, their education, their offices, their wealth, and the influences which sent them to parliament make reading *The Long Parliament* most entertaining as well as instructive. It should serve in many respects as a model for future historians of parliament.

New York University

HAROLD HULME

THE STRENUOUS PURITAN: HUGH PETER, 1598-1660. By *Raymond Phineas Stearns*. (Urbana: University of Illinois. 1954. Pp. x, 463. \$7.50.)

A DETAILED study of a Puritan minister who lived from 1598 to 1660 is very welcome, especially when he was associated like Hugh Peter with many notable events. Professor Stearns by his prior contributions to the publications of learned societies had already shown that he had investigated minutely parts of Peter's life; and he has now produced a biography that passes the most exacting tests. Such errors as he commits—and who from faults is free?—rarely affect Peter himself. Examples are the statements that old style dates can be equated with new style by adding eleven (instead of ten) days, that Henrietta Maria exercised "obvious influence" over Charles during the years 1625 to 1629 (her influence was slight before Buckingham's assassination), that Cromwell expelled the Long Parliament on April 23 (should be 20), 1653, and that libels on Peter amused "Tory minds" at the Restoration (an anticipation by twenty years of the use of Tory as a party designation). The suggestion (p. 411) that Monck thought that the minister was plotting with Desborough and other army officers in the spring of 1660 raises the question whether Desborough was engaged in any plot. The letters in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1659-1660*, to which reference is made, seem manifestly fictitious. Monck can hardly have believed Desborough to be a plotter because he left him at liberty. These trivial errors do not lower the high standard of scholarship maintained throughout this book.

In nearly every stage of Peter's life something new is added, whether about his ancestry, his early years in England, his exile in Holland, his ministry in New England, his career as a kind of war correspondent for the New Model, and his many activities after the wars were over. He was a very controversial figure all his life, but Dr. Stearns treats the various charges against him, usually of corruption or immorality, very judiciously. A fine illustration of this impartiality is furnished by the account of Peter's dealings with Anne Hutchinson. The minister is shown to have been very active in collecting evidence against her and to have

broken his promise to her by revealing a private conversation. The hypothesis is that he felt no compunction in betraying a confidence in order to ensnare an emissary of Satan. An admirable feature of the book is that it explains why Peter made both friends and enemies. Contemporaries were rarely neutral: they either admired or detested him. To some he had a hand in advancing every good cause, to others he was a busybody always bent on enhancing his own importance by his extreme advocacy of prevailing trends. There is no reason to accuse him of hypocrisy when he wrote of the Hamiltonians in 1648: "We are for God, they worke against God." This was precisely the attitude of the army and the "Saints." Yet these self-righteous Puritans quarreled, and in the end Peter was left alone without any influential friends though with many admirers among the humble.

Dr. Stearns heads his last chapter "Anticlimax." It covers the years from the establishment of the Protectorate to the Restoration and Peter's execution. What is the precise connection between the minister's decline and fall and the history of these seven years? One answer is that his work was done by 1653 and that he had no fresh contribution to offer. Another is that his type of enthusiasm was unacceptable now that a conservative reaction had set in. A third is that both civilian and military leaders were ungrateful to one who had labored so hard for the "good old cause," and now disparaged his efforts as meddlesomeness. A fourth is that Peter's health had been undermined by his too strenuous services and that he was no longer the man he had been. Perhaps all four answers taken together explain why he played such an insignificant role during the last years of the Puritan revolution.

Readers of this book will find ample material to form their own opinions of Peter. They are not likely to reach conclusions markedly different from those of its learned author.

*Huntington Library*

GODFREY DAVIES

BRITISH POLITICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Charles R. Ritcheson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 320. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Ritcheson of Kenyon College, student of Morison and Feiling and disciple of Namier, makes a highly promising debut as colonial historian with this study of the political scene in Britain between 1763 and 1778. His book is organized with care, written with clarity, and documented with severity; more than that, it is—if I may brighten a worn but useful phrase with the help of A. A. Milne—a Genuine Contribution to our understanding of the formative years of the American Republic.

Though he ranges far and wide through the fantastic maze of British politics in the age of George III, the author never loses touch with the main purpose of his book—to describe and analyze two closely related series of events: (1) the

progress of British imperial thought and policy from Grenville's ideal of a mercantilist empire of "supreme center and subordinate parts" to the "acceptance in elemental form of the idea of a federal empire or commonwealth of nations" in the proposals of the Carlisle Commission; (2) the progress of the British party system from the fluid and confusing combinations of the first years of George III's reign to the much firmer groupings at the time of the Revolution. It is Mr. Ritcheson's particular task to show how and why these two developments were in fact closely related, and this he does by documenting with thorough, occasionally excessive detail the complaint of a British politician, delivered in early 1776, that in parliament "every point now turns immediately into something American." The influence of American events on British politics during the fifteen years of his narrative is thus well summarized: "America, since the lingering death of Jacobitism, was the first fully developed 'issue' in British politics. It was not to be a biding one, but the divisive force which it engendered was to remain, and new issues and principles springing from it would bring Britain to the threshold of her modern party system. The American problem in British politics had resulted in the consolidation of a new conservatism, the seedbed of a new Tory party. But it was also preparing, about the Old Whigs as a nucleus, the emergence of a new Whig party."

One more step would have to be taken before Britain could cross this great threshold: the transformation of the king from a party manager, a man deeply and angrily involved in the political struggle, to a symbol of unity, a man above party and beyond policy. But it was just this shortcoming, the immaturity of a party system in which a king like George III could play a dominant role, that made the ideal of a commonwealth of equal partners impossible to realize—whether in 1778 when the British advanced it too late for the Americans or in 1774 when Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Iredell, and Wilson advanced it too early for the British. The Americans, it must be conceded, were moving the wrong way in history by pushing their "dominion theory" so hard. In their anxiety to exclude parliament from their affairs, they seemed to be pleading for a wholesale revival of the royal prerogative, and the champions of parliamentary supremacy, who remembered the Stuarts as the Americans did not, would have none of it. If he has done nothing else in this fine book—and he has of course done a great deal more—Mr. Ritcheson has driven home an important point about which there can henceforth be no serious dispute: The pattern of politics, not the principles or policies, of eighteenth-century Britain was the final stumbling block to the dream of "Novanglus"—a federalized empire held together by allegiance to a royal person above the strife of party politics. Even had the Americans not passed the point of no return, the Carlisle Commission could never have succeeded.

INGHILTERRA E REGNO DI SARDEGNA DAL 1815 AL 1847. By *Nello Rosselli*. Introduction by *Walter Maturi*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1954. Pp. xxviii, 940. L. 6000.)

THIS carefully documented study, the result of minute research in British and Italian archives, offers more than an account of Anglo-Sardinian diplomatic relations in the years from 1815 to 1847. It is, to a lesser degree, also a history of Sardinian foreign policy during this period.

Emerging from the Congress of Vienna greatly strengthened by the territorial addition of the important maritime city of Genoa, the Kingdom of Sardinia continued its traditional role of buffer state between France and Austria. To offset the pressure of its two powerful and often antagonistic neighbors and to retain a certain degree of independence in its domestic and foreign affairs, Sardinia looked to England for help and support. England, whose dominant position in the Mediterranean made her sensitive to developments on the Italian peninsula, found it useful to befriend and to protect Sardinia.

After 1830, however, the close ties between the two countries suffered considerable strain and intermittent coolness. England followed the road of liberalism, both in politics and trade, while Sardinia remained an absolute, protectionist state. These differences in national character emerged clearly from the policies adopted by England and Sardinia during the 1830's toward the Spanish and Portuguese succession crises. The many vexing restrictions suffered by the Waldensians under the House of Savoy provided another cause for disagreement. Protestant England lodged numerous official protests which Sardinia rejected as interference in its internal affairs. But despite these differences, Sardinia did not hesitate to seek British help to stop the Barbary pirates from preying on its merchant ships and to negotiate a favorable trade agreement with Constantinople. By the late 1840's Anglo-Sardinian friendship was restored to its old footing and Lord Minto's visit in 1847 eased any remaining tension.

For all its profound scholarship the book sheds little light on Charles Albert, who became king of Sardinia in 1831. As an absolute monarch he played no little role in determining his country's foreign policy. In Rosselli's pages his motives for jeopardizing English friendship remain nebulous and enigmatic. Again, Rosselli seemed to have misunderstood Palmerston's concept of the European system and his opinion of Metternich. Consequently, Palmerston's Italian policy, reflected in English relations with Sardinia while he headed the British Foreign Office, appears somewhat distorted. These are minor shortcomings, however, and may in part be due to the fact that the author, one of Italy's abler young historians who refused to accept the Fascist distortions of history, was not able to make final revisions of his book. The almost completed draft was found among his papers after he and his brother, Carlo Rosselli, were assassinated by Mussolini's agents in 1937. The difficult task of preparing the book for publication fell upon Paolo Treves, who preferred to leave the text untouched and limited himself to

the not inconsiderable task of completing footnote references and compiling the very rich bibliography. An able introduction by Walter Maturi discusses the literature on the period and raises interesting questions.

The book deserves to be read by anyone interested in the Risorgimento. It illuminates the evolution of Sardinia from a conservative, reactionary, bigoted state to one which could assume, after 1848, the leadership of the Italian liberal national movement and shows the role played by England and by Palmerston in this transformation. Moreover, it does so against the background of general European developments and links the Risorgimento to the political and economic changes taking place in the first half of the nineteenth century.

*Watertown, Massachusetts*

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

THE TYPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION: ORIGINS AND HISTORY UP TO 1949. By *A. E. Musson*, Assistant Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Manchester. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 550. \$4.80.)

THE Typographical Association, the organization of the printing trades outside the London area, set a good example for other crafts and industries when it secured a professional historian to write its centennial volume, allowed full access to its records, and gave a free hand in the writing. The result is a well-documented study valuable for an understanding not only of a particular craft but also of the whole British labor movement.

The author deals first with the origins of trade unionism in the printing industry, then with the Typographical Association, 1849-1914, and finally with the period since 1914. It is the story of one of the better-paid crafts whose members regarded themselves as among the aristocracy of labor, for composition required reasonably educated and skilled workmen. Mechanical invention, which affected printing later than most industries, turned what members had liked to regard as a profession into a trade, and ultimately produced a sense of solidarity with the working-class movement. Organization then accomplished much: gains were registered in hours, wages, and working conditions; a democratic constitution was developed; agreements on a national scale were negotiated with employers' associations; and the members became politically educated. It was not all done quickly and easily. The reader is impressed with the innate conservatism of the British worker: it was apparent a century ago in the printers' indifference to Owenism, Chartism, and direct action, and in their preference for Victorian thrift and self-help; they lagged in their conversion to a centralized national organization and in their response to the socialist movement. A narrow sectionalism lingered and members long showed themselves concerned more with local and immediate questions of wages and hours than in the political and social aspirations of the more advanced sections of the working class.

The author never spares criticism. He cites policies frequently based not on principle but on expedience, refers to the apathy and indifference of members which at times permitted an executive to utilize democratic forms to develop a dictatorship, and notes survivals in the twentieth century of nineteenth-century thinking which, heedless of appeals from a Labour government, led to restrictive and selfish demands at times when the national economy called for greater productivity. He concludes, however, with a hopeful reference to signs of the presence of a broader and more statesmanlike outlook in the present leadership.

In printing and format the volume is a fitting memorial to a typographical association.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

ETUDES SUR LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. By *Georges Lefebvre*, Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. viii, 326. 1,500 fr.)

THE present volume represents a gift made to Georges Lefebvre, by friends and admirers of his work, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. It is a collection of articles originally appearing in various French historical journals, and as such gives us on some points, in more detail than can be obtained from his books, the thought of the great master in the field of the French Revolution. Most of the articles have long ago been meditated and digested by those whose work leads them into the special literature of the Revolution, but it is a great service to have them now gathered in one place in permanent form.

Here will be found, for example, the measured judgment of Albert Mathiez, published at the time of Mathiez' death in 1932, and in Mathiez' own journal, the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, of which Lefebvre has been editor ever since. Without clashing with the proprieties, or the true feeling, suitable to an obituary, it yet presents a critical review of Mathiez' work. Mathiez' well-known emphasis on class conflict, and his partisanship for Robespierre, are here analyzed by a friendly but more comprehensive mind, since Lefebvre himself, at the time, had reached a deeper understanding of French class structure, and a more tragic sympathy for Robespierre, than the more pugnacious Mathiez had attained. The article on Danton, also from 1932, is a kind of peace treaty coming after the fifteen-year private war waged against Danton by Mathiez. Lefebvre concludes that Danton's conduct and policies can be extenuated though not always admired down to the end of 1793, at which time he did inexcusably lend the support of his name to forces undermining mobilization, at the decisive moment, in the war against counter-revolutionary Europe. The great articles on the French peasantry, landownership, and agrarian institutions, before and during the Revolution, are in the present volume also. Lefebvre explains his belief that peasant landownership increased during the Revolution more than has been some-



times said, but that the Revolution issued in a kind of compromise between peasant and bourgeois interest, in that peasant obstruction limited the spread of capitalism in agriculture, and bourgeois resistance prevented the poorest of the farmers and farm laborers from realizing their objectives. Many readers will value also the articles on Babeuf, which bring a needed corrective to the pure history of ideas. It is admitted that Babeuf formed his doctrine mostly from books, such as Morelly's *Code de la Nature*, but it is pointed out that he formed it also from actual facts and conditions, namely the collectivist practices in village life before the Revolution, and the age-old peasant resistance to the free market, free enterprise, and the individual private control of specific parcels of the land. Of the dozen other articles only one can be named, "La Révolution française dans l'histoire du monde," in which the international repercussions of the French upheaval are briefly reviewed. It is Lefebvre's belief that since the "Anglo-Saxon" revolutions emphasized liberty more than equality, the French Revolution was the *révolution de l'égalité* in a special sense. This may be true, in the last analysis, but it suggests that the author, like many of his countrymen, may exaggerate the resemblance between Britain and America in modern times, and may fail to sense how deeply the drive toward equality has affected the history of the United States.

In form, though not at all in content, the present volume reminds one of Carl Becker's *Everyman His Own Historian*, which also was a collection of essays made possible by former students in lieu of a *Festschrift*. Since in the nature of the case the assembled thoughts of the master are almost bound to be more memorable than disconnected ideas of the disciples, it is to be hoped that the older ritual of the *Festschrift* will more often yield to this better method of saluting one who, by our professional standards, is a great man.

*Princeton University*

R. R. PALMER

LES IDÉES POLITIQUES ET SOCIALES DE LA RÉSISTANCE (DOCUMENTS CLANDESTINS—1940–1944). Textes choisis et introductions par Henri Michel et Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch. Préface de Georges Bidault. Avant-propos de Lucien Febvre. [Esprit de la Résistance: La Guerre—L'Occupation—La Déportation—La Libération.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. xi, 410. 1,200 fr.)

THIS first volume in a new series, "Esprit de la Résistance," is fresh evidence of the vitality of current concern with the history of the French underground. It has as editors Henri Michel, who has given us an *Histoire de la Résistance*, and Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch, whose studies of constitutional government are too well known to need comment. The editors are here not interested in the great drama of the Resistance but in the thoughts of participants on how new the better world was to be, in Carl Becker's phrase—on the nature of the social and political "revo-

lution" to come. They have given us two general "pathfinding" pieces, one by Michel on the evolution of Resistance thought (the clandestine press, the study committees, the nuances of the various political and other groups); the other by Mirkine-Guetzévitch, which discusses the spectrum of more purely political ideas and the five different "types" of constitutional plans which were evolved.

But the heart of the book is the documents themselves, arranged under eighteen different rubrics, of which the most important are: "Resistance and the Third Republic," "Resistance and Political Parties," "Resistance and Gaullism," "Resistance and Revolution," "Objectives and Programs," "The Resistance and International Organization." A substantial number of footnotes offer guidance of various kinds.

The editors have brought together an illuminating group of documents; of special interest are those from private individuals now published for the first time. But the collection has also some shortcomings. It appears to us that a collection of this kind should either be very extensive, so that its inclusiveness permits general conclusions to be drawn by the reader himself, or, if it is to be highly selective, the choices should be rationalized by intercalated material by the editors indicating clearly why a certain document was selected and what it demonstrates about the specific aspect of the problem to which it relates. This collection fulfills neither requirement. It is far too brief for the first: eleven of the rubrics include only one to five documents. And neither the introductory essays nor the footnotes are substitutes for the intercalated explanations we have in mind for the second.

But this book will be read with deep interest by all who are concerned with the ironic and tragic contrast between the hopes and plans of the Resistance and the accomplishments of post-Liberation France. Michel offers one explanation for the divergence: the Resistance was a minority; the mass of Frenchmen (and this was true in occupied countries generally) lived as best they could from day to day, awaiting an uncertain future which they lacked the courage and initiative to influence; but with the re-establishment after Liberation of universal suffrage, it was inevitably the *attentistes* who had their way.

Harvard University

DONALD C. MCKAY

#### BIOGRAPHISCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZUR DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE.

By Hellmuth Rössler and Günther Franz. With the co-operation of Willy Hoppe. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1953. Pp. xlviii, 968.)

THIS biographical dictionary aims to be "useful and necessary . . . for the student and teacher of history, for journalists, politicians, and every reader interested in history" (preface). It is to be followed immediately by a dictionary of German history of similar dimensions, and the two volumes are planned to supplement each other.

In order to save time the editors wrote most of the articles themselves. Hoppe assumed responsibility for those on the migrations and the Middle Ages (to 1440), Franz for the period 1440 to 1550, Rössler for the years 1550 to 1815, and Franz again for those between 1815 and 1933. They have emphasized political history, but they have also included biographies of individuals in the history of law, philosophy, literature, art, music, and medicine, and have in part drawn on specialists for writing the articles in these fields. Although they did not attempt to cover the period since 1933, they have brought the story of a few persons subsequently important, like Hitler and Goebbels, up to that date.

The value of the dictionary to American students cannot be predicted in a review; it must be tested by use. The editor-authors have endeavored to distribute the approximately 2,400 names judiciously among the periods of German history. They have interpreted the term "German" in a sense sufficiently broad to cover personalities in Austria and Hungary irrespective of whether or not they were of German nationality. They also have written up individuals of Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden who were of German nationality and influenced the course of German history; and they have put in some foreigners, like Erasmus, Peter the Great, and Napoleon, apparently on the assumption that their significance for German history was so great that anyone working on the subject would need to know about them. Whether the editor-authors acted wisely in devoting space to these persons is a matter of opinion; this reviewer would have preferred sketches of more Germans. Much more open to question is the distribution of emphasis among the occupations. As the convenient occupational index shows, the editor-authors devoted a large part of their space to the biographies of intellectuals—professors, especially historians, political writers, and others. For example, for the period 1789 to 1933 some thirty-one political writers and seventy-six historians are treated and only about thirty economic leaders. The historians are almost as numerous as the soldiers. The dictionary reflects the unfortunate emphasis which in recent decades German scholars have placed upon *Geistesgeschichte*. The articles themselves are factual and compact, and the authors have included some German bibliography.

University of Nebraska

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

GESCHICHTE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. Volume I, VOM ZUSAMMENBRUCH DES KAISERTUMS BIS ZUR WAHL HINDENBURGS. By *Erich Eyck*. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1954. Pp. 468. DM 17.50.)

IN a brief foreword to this lucid and suggestive book on the early years of the Weimar republic, the author makes no secret of the fact that the subject, so far as he is concerned, is a painful one. Why, then, did he decide to treat it? His answer, in part at least, is that the problems which today confront Germany

and her erstwhile foes cannot be solved without a proper knowledge and understanding of the recent past. Turning to the actual implementation of his decision, he remarks that because of the very nearness of the people and developments discussed, the historian who depicts them can do so not objectively but only from a certain point of view. This, he feels, is not serious, particularly if no attempt is made to dissemble the point of view in question. The readers of his book, he is quite sure, will be constantly aware that his approach is that of a liberal and democratic supporter of the republic. This approach, as a matter of fact, is indeed palpably and continuously evident, but so is the author's consistent and highly successful effort to deal fairly with personalities, movements, and parties that do not conform to the pattern of his own political and social convictions. He has written not only feelingly and sensitively but also judiciously.

This study, which ends on a somber note—the last chapter deals with the death of Ebert in February, 1925, and Hindenburg's elevation two months later to the presidency of the republic—is tellingly but not voluminously documented. In preparing it, the author has relied on firsthand knowledge as well as on the more important printed sources. This utilization of the data of personal experience informs his account with a vividness that greatly enhances its readability. The book abounds in the kind of observations about men and events that can be made only by someone who has known these men and witnessed these events. Accuracy marks the treatment throughout. This is one of the strongest features of the work. Another is the skill with which the author handles such diverse subjects as the fall of the Hohenzollern empire, the nature and significance of the Weimar constitution, the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, the impact of Keynes's *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* on the emotions of many Germans, the Erzberger-Helfferich trial, the political repercussions of the occupation of the Ruhr, Ebert's stature as statesman and patriot, and the meaning of Hindenburg's successful candidacy. What stands out in every instance is the author's ability to combine meticulous analysis with mature historical judgment. He breaks no new ground. Rather, he sifts and reassesses what we already know, but he does so with unfailing care and perceptiveness.

One shortcoming—and a grave one, to be sure—mars this otherwise excellent book. It consists in the author's failure to give sufficient heed to the always close relationship between the political scene, his main preoccupation, and the socio-economic areas of German life.

University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

LE RÉARMEMENT CLANDESTIN DU REICH, 1930-1935: VU PAR LE  
2<sup>e</sup> BUREAU DE L'ÉTAT-MAJOR FRANÇAIS. By *Georges Castellán*.  
Preface by General Weygand. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1954. Pp. 571. 1,650 fr.)

THIS copious volume, introduced to the reader by General Weygand, pictures on the basis of the overwhelming mass of documents in the possession of the

French "2ème Bureau" ("G-2" in the U.S. Army), the rearmament of a Germany developing into the Third Reich. This gives the book a threefold interest: we may expect from it the possible revelation of still unknown historical facts; the revelation of the degree of information obtained by the French army leaders about the then secret German rearmament, and, thirdly, a possible disclosure of the effects of this information on France's political leaders of those days.

Starting with the first point, the work gives the public for the first time a wealth of systematically digested data and facts illustrating the gradual development of the German rearmament, as in a slow-motion picture. In order to evaluate this material fully it would of course be necessary to compare it with other sources in the possession of the World War II Allies, especially the documents of the German army, access to which, the author states, was denied him by the United States authorities.

Looking at the volume and the quality of information the French military authorities were able to collect, one cannot but marvel at the thoroughness of their work and at the typically French acumen with which they digested it. This is true of both their analysis of the politico-military scene and their presentation of the actual technical progress of the secret rearmament which took place in three stages: a preparatory period in the time of Chancellor Brüning, that figure of transition between the sunset of Weimar and the dawn of Nazism; the *Umbau* of the Reichswehr in 1932, mainly connected with the name of Schleicher, and the period of the Nazis marked by Hitler's secret aims. It is a melancholy sight to find a Socialist deputy like Stücklen—known for his pre-1914 revelations of dubious practices of German munitions makers—defend Groener's blown-up Reichswehr budget in order to prevent Brüning's fall (p. 36). Piecing numerous bits of information together, the French experts concluded that Schleicher's *Umbau* would increase the Reichswehr to twenty-one divisions by 1938 (p. 84)—the same figure once envisaged, but not reached, by Seeckt.

M. Castellan's presentation of the records, his style, and general handling of the findings come up to high level of the men who speak in these documents, and show the same typically French lucidity and clarity. A few minor slips were noted here and there. Major Marcks (not Marx, pp. 51, 53, 78, 85), mentioned as being close to Schleicher, was a son of the historian Erich Marcks and one of the so-called "three Musketeers," i.e., Marcks, Erwin Planck—a son of the great physicist—and Schleicher.

Thorough perusal of this volume leaves but one regret: that the author, presumably for lack of time and space, has not explored the mystery that a country which was so well informed about the constant violation of existing treaties by its neighbor did virtually nothing to enforce its rights and bring about a showdown. The documents reproduced in the appendix of the work, while proving that Weygand and others warned France's political leaders, do not suffice to solve this riddle, which is of such importance for the proper understanding not only of the France of that time but also of the French of our own day. This must not obscure

the fact that M. Castellan's book contains a wealth of important material presented in a most competent manner.

*Washington, D. C.*

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945). Volume VIII, THE WAR YEARS, SEPTEMBER 4, 1939-MARCH 18, 1940. [Department of State Publication 5436.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. lxxxvi, 974. \$4.00.)

DIPLOMACY has in a sense gone into "winter quarters," State Secretary Weizsäcker wrote in January, 1940. Though he might with relative truthfulness say this of part of the winter, it is not true of the whole half-year covered by this volume. Naturally the invasion of Poland and preparations for an attack in the West took first place, but the war situation itself produced new problems and tensions which led to a very active German diplomacy, directed particularly at Russia, Italy, Turkey, and the smaller neutrals of western Europe. Uneasy relations with Japan and estrangement from the United States are also reflected during this period of Nazi-Soviet collaboration and the phony war, as well as Hitler's "peace offensive" after Poland's collapse, and other abortive peace moves.

The swift German advance into Poland, coupled with Russia's tardy intervention, caused revision of the Nazi-Soviet pact on September 28, giving to Germany more of Poland (though not the hunting grounds for red deer that Ribbentrop coveted), and Lithuania to Russia. Thereafter, despite considerable tension, the Germans kept hands off while Russia moved in on the Baltic states and defeated Finland. Four months of hard-headed and sometimes heated negotiation at top level, here extensively documented, produced the Nazi-Soviet trade agreement of February 11, 1940. German-Italian relations involved constant explanations and self-justifications arising from the sudden success of Germany, Italian dislike of the USSR, Italy's military and economic weakness and her nonbelligerency. The Turks allied themselves to England and France despite strong German protests, and drove a hard bargain for what chrome they were willing to deliver, but the Germans were instrumental in preventing the formation of any strong league of Balkan neutrals. All neutrals, especially those of western Europe, were squeezed between the Allied blockade and German pressures, both political and economic.

Unlike the first five volumes, this one is chronologically arranged (as are VI and VII, not yet available from England). A topical table, though it lacks cross-references, is of great assistance. Because most of these documents are from the Foreign Ministry files, the process of policy formulation is not always apparent. Other recent publications give greater insight into war plans, and into Hitler's thoughts and idiosyncrasies. But a judicious selection of Führer directives, OKW documents, and of a few from the Aussenpolitisches Amt of the NSDAP, gives the diplomatic historian a general view of major decisions and of occasional clashes



of opinion in their making. Footnotes cite other materials, particularly Nuremberg trial documents. The editors on occasion refer also to memoirs, but wisely do not attempt to collate all that have appeared. A number of these documents have already been published elsewhere, which is not invariably indicated. It is nowhere stated that some 50-odd of the approximately 700 documents in this volume appeared in 1948 in *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*, sometimes with slightly varying wording in the English translations. There are, therefore, no startling revelations here, but the volume remains a carefully edited and indispensable chunk of raw material for the diplomatic history of World War II.

*George Washington University*

RODERIC H. DAVISON

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946: HITLER'S EUROPE. Edited by *Arnold Toynbee*, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Professor of International History in the University of London, and *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 730. \$14.50.)

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946. Volume II, HITLER'S EUROPE. Selected and Edited by *Margaret Carlyle*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 362. \$6.10.)

THE political, economic, and military history of Nazi-occupied Europe, 1939-1946, is a subject of first-rate importance that is as difficult to survey adequately as it is fascinating to study. Professor and Mrs. Toynbee have chosen a team of highly qualified experts to assemble, evaluate, and present the evidence on the areas of their special competence. The editing, as well as the writing of each specialist, is so well done that the book has a smoothness and degree of unity that is unusual in collaborative works. Professor Toynbee confines himself to an introduction distinguished by its suggestive historical parallels and its intriguing generalizations on the significance of Hitler and the Nazi ideals, strategy, and administrative system. The evidence in the rest of the volume and from other sources does not support some of these assertions, e.g., that a statistician might reasonably have forecast that Nazi Germany with its control of resources in the summer of 1942 "could never be brought to the ground by any counter-coalition" even when "these included the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the states member of the British Commonwealth" (p. 6). Nor does Toynbee's great stress on Hitler as the "key" to the amazing success and collapse of Nazi Germany (p. 1) seem justified. Even the greatest leaders depend upon the support of groups who share in the formation of policy and in the ruling and fighting. A more acute analysis would specify the complex social groups who brought Hitler into power and sustained him in his exercise of power.

Part I centers on the political structure of Hitler's Europe. Clifton J. Child is the scholarly author of the sections dealing with Germany, the concept of the New Order, the SS, the administrative and legal aspects of German-occupied Europe; James Parker writes on the German treatment of the Jews. The economic structure of Hitler's Europe is treated in Part II by Patricia Harvey and W. Klatt. The latter expounds the position of food and farming in Germany and the rest of Nazi Europe; the former tackles with courage and skill an exposition of the economic controls, industrial developments, raw materials, labor supply, transport, and finance of the German-controlled economies. The political, economic, and military problems of the Nazi-occupied countries are then taken up. Part III is devoted to a searching examination of Italy by Katherine Duff, with Elizabeth Wiskemann adding a section on the Italian resistance movement. France is the subject of Part IV; Alfred Cobban contributes an adroit account of the complex situation in Vichy France that is matched in its *expertise* by Sir Desmond Morton's sketch of the Free French movement. Viscount Chilton in Part V gives the highlights of the varied problems of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, and Norway. The last fifth of the volume presents a series of incisive and balanced studies of Poland, the Ostland, and Finland by Sidney Lowery; of partitioned Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania by Elizabeth Wiskemann; of the Ukraine under German occupation by Clifton J. Child; and of Greece by Elizabeth Barker.

Specialists on specific areas and topics may take exception to certain statements of fact and judgments in the volume. For example, there is evidence that contradicts the German claim that the Herman Göring Works at Salzgitter was important for its exploitation of the low-grade iron ores in that area (p. 187). Rebecca West would give a different evaluation of Mihailovič's role than that given in the text (pp. 656 ff.). Students of the Comintern and Cominform, e.g., Franz Borkenau or Hugh Seton-Watson, would give greater stress to the linkage of the different communist parties to Moscow's program for world domination. The role of the neutrals—Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey—in the Axis war economy is indicated but not developed in proportion to its strategic importance. Perhaps another volume in this series will do justice to this theme and that of economic warfare and will follow the leads of D. L. Gordon and R. Dangerfield in *The Hidden Weapon*. The volume under review is a proof that contemporary history may be written on as high a level of scholarship and impartiality as more noted works of the distant past.

The accompanying volume of documents on Hitler's Europe, edited by Margaret Carlyle, reveals skill and sound judgment in the choice of documents, careful translation, and clear explication of sources and relevant data; it supplements admirably the massive pioneer work of Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

HJALMAR SCHACHT, FOR AND AGAINST HITLER: A POLITICAL-ECONOMIC STUDY OF GERMANY, 1923-1945. By *Edward Norman Peterson*. (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1954. Pp. 416. \$5.00.)

THE BORMANN LETTERS: THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARTIN BORMANN AND HIS WIFE FROM JANUARY, 1943, TO APRIL, 1945. Edited by *H. R. Trevor-Roper*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson; New York: British Book Centre. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 200. \$3.75.)

ON first glancing over the field, one might conclude that there was little need for another Schacht biography, especially one that reads like an expanded doctoral dissertation. Beside Norbert Mühlen's *Hitler's Magician* and Franz Reuter's *Schacht*, in German, we have Karl R. Bopp's University of Missouri study, *Hjalmar Schacht: Central Banker*. Schacht's own apologia is also available in English as *Account Settled*. As a matter of fact, however, Mr. Peterson has written the fairest and most systematic study to date, with the inclusion of the Nuremberg materials on Schacht, which were of course future history for Mühlen, Reuter, and Bopp.

Mr. Peterson straddles two different steeds, biography and German economic history, 1923-1945, as his extensive title indicates. As a consequence the format of the book is dominated by ambivalence. We get a few biographical chapters: "Background of a Banker," "Toward the Nazi Camp," "Schacht in Politics," "In the German Underground," but the weightier chapters are titled "The German Economy, 1924-29," "Domestic Economy, 1933-39," "Schacht's Foreign Trade Policy," and "The Four Year Plan: Schacht's Nemesis."

*For and Against Hitler* has the tone of a balanced response to the amazing claims of Schacht himself and to the embittered and even petty attacks upon him under color of the anti-German vindictiveness of the war years. The author has obviously immersed himself fully in the economic literature concerning the problems Schacht faced and as a consequence makes a very convincing appraisal of Schacht's gifts and shortcomings. In his conclusion he emphasizes the "summation of contradictions" in Schacht's career: "He made many changes in the German economy but would really have preferred things as they had been. . . . He was immediately successful but was notable for his failures; he failed to prevent a new war; he failed even to prevent a new inflation." Mr. Peterson is content to leave us with the contradictions. There are only stabs made here and there to get at the mind hiding behind that familiar fierce stare and the high collar. The contradictions in Herr Schacht are, like his quaint enthusiasms for the German colonies, William II, and cultural anti-Semitism, unfortunately all too familiar among clever Germans. Why?

The book has a twenty-three-page bibliography but no index. Mr. Peterson would have profited from some assistance with his sentence structure, and the frequency of typographical errors (three on p. 284) is appalling.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler classified all men as "the fighters, the lukewarm, and the cowards." Martin Bormann's letters help to explain how his personality, unattractive even in Nazi circles, fitted him better even than Goebbels and Himmler for the Führer's confidence. To a man like Adolf Hitler, for whom only one criterion of human worth mattered, Bormann was able to offer willingness to give battle twenty-four hours a day, year-in, year-out, in 1925 and also in 1945. No mere intellectual commitment to a philosophy of life but a conviction of constitutional proportions is revealed in these completely human, sentimental letters to the mother of his nine children. With the publication of this correspondence Bormann ceases to be the mystery-man of the Third Reich, becoming instead the paragon of stupid incorruptibility and incorruptible stupidity which made him hated by such different types as Hermann Göring, Albert Speer, and Joseph Goebbels. The letters of Gerda Bormann, the daughter of *Altkämpfer* Walter Buch, illustrate how a super-Nazi female bigot could also be a typically warm German mother and wife. Trevor-Roper tells us that on her deathbed in 1946 she entrusted her children to the care of a Roman Catholic priest. The letters are full of *Onkel Heinrich* (Himmler) and his Bunny (his mistress) and of Evi (Eva Braun), that is, the inner circle. Perhaps this collection will aid historians to find the human in the Nazi perpetrators of inhumanity and thus help us to grasp the nature of the German tragedy.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ROBERT L. KOEHL

RUSSIA, POLAND AND THE WEST: ESSAYS IN LITERARY AND CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Wacław Lednicki*. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1954. Pp. 419. \$5.00.)

EVER since the emergence of Russia as a European power under Peter the Great, the problem of her relations with the West has grown steadily in importance and has received constantly increasing attention both from statesmen and scholars. One of the most recent scholarly treatments of this problem is that of Professor Wacław Lednicki of the University of California, Berkeley. Being a student of Slavic literature, Professor Lednicki approaches the subject not from the usual political angle but from a literary point of view; and, being a Pole, he employs his native country as an illustration of Russia's relations with the West.

Except by implication, Professor Lednicki is not at all concerned with the contemporary scene; his setting is in the nineteenth century; his hero is Adam Mickiewicz. The great Polish poet influenced not only the writings of Pushkin, with whom he was well acquainted, but those of Chaadaev, Lermontov, Dostoevsky, and others. Even the Marquis de Custine, that keen French interpreter of the Russian scene who has only recently been rediscovered, owed much to Mickiewicz. Before undertaking his journey to Russia in 1839, Custine had met the Polish poet in Paris and had read many of his works.

The greater portion of Professor Lednicki's study is devoted to the anti-Polish and anti-European ideas of Pushkin and Dostoevsky. Both writers entertained such views only in their later years: Pushkin, after the defeat of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, and Dostoevsky, after his Siberian exile. The "intransigent and almost ferocious attitude" expressed by Pushkin in some of his odes affected the thinking of future generations of Russians toward Poland and Europe, according to Professor Lednicki. "These odes," states the author, "became a canon, a national catechism, an ideological citadel erected by the powerful hand of the great Russian poet, in which he imprisoned the thought of many Russian politicians, writers, and poets." Professor Lednicki goes so far as to suggest that had Pushkin written otherwise, the whole course of Russian-Polish relations, and to some extent even Russian-European relations, might have been different. Most students of Russia will find this suggestion difficult to accept.

Like Pushkin, Dostoevsky was deeply indebted to Europe in the formation of his art and thought; and yet his writings show that he "felt nothing but disgust and hatred for Europe." For Poland and the Poles his hatred was so vehement that Lednicki states it might be called "pathological." One can scarcely believe that this was the man who read Belinsky's famous *Letter to Gogol* before the Petrashevsky circle. The terrible punishment of Siberian exile resulted in Dostoevsky's complete transformation. He not only repudiated the "Europeanism" which was responsible for his exile, but he embraced the teachings of the Slavophiles. Siberia, as Lednicki points out, was "the cradle of Dostoevsky's Russian Messianic imperialism."

The significance of Professor Lednicki's book lies, it seems to me, in its confirmation of the fact that an understanding of the history of no country so much as of Russia is dependent upon a knowledge of the literature. Likewise, Professor Lednicki shows once again that Russia's attitude toward and relations with Poland are a reflection of her approach to the Western world in general.

Ohio State University

CHARLES MORLEY

HUNGARIAN PREMIER: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF A NATION'S STRUGGLE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Nicholas Kállay*. With a Foreword by C. A. Macartney. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xxvii, 518. \$6.00.)

THESE reminiscences of the man who was premier of Hungary from March, 1942, to March, 1944, were written in exile in 1946-47, without benefit of archival records or even a Hungarian newspaper file. A complete collection of his most important speeches was available and from these he quotes liberally. Kállay has also drawn on the personal records of fellow Hungarian exiles and in a few instances relies on accounts in other books.

Kállay's point of view is the typical conservative one of the Magyar govern-

ing class, which he considers to be liberal and a manifestation of the essential values of the French Revolution. The book is full of judgments with which many will disagree. He is particularly harsh on Beneš ("everything that man touched became a source of catastrophe," p. 251) and the Rumanians, and of Yugoslavia he says: "another fiction which was blown sky-high by spontaneous combustion when Croatia turned against Serbia and went over to the Germans" (p. 55). The Poles come in for much praise; the harsh words that are in general meted out to the Slavs are clearly not meant to apply to them. Considering past history it is rather astonishing to learn that: "We Hungarians alone in the world are capable of loving other races" (p. 113). From Kállay's viewpoint the peace treaties of 1919-1920 and particularly the treaty of Trianon were fundamentally responsible for all the ills of Europe and the Second World War. For Hungary to attempt to regain its lost territories was neither imperialism nor conquest. Hungary achieved a return of some of her lands by the two Vienna awards, marched into Ruthenia at the request of Poland, and took over the Bachka only after Yugoslavia had disintegrated. All these acquisitions the author holds to have been made by peaceful means.

The heart of the volume is the account of how Kállay with Horthy's full co-operation sought to ward off the danger of German occupation. The amount of independence Hungary was able to maintain up to 1944 is generally not realized, and accounts of interviews with Hitler and Mussolini are particularly enlightening. Kállay was forced to enact some anti-Semitic economic measures in order to appease the Nazis, but under his guidance Hungary was indeed a haven for Jews and refugees in that perilous time. It was upon Italy rather than Germany that Hungary relied, and Kállay strangely maintains that Italy's official withdrawal from the war ended all Hungary's obligations to the Axis. Much as the Hungarians feared and hated Germany, their fear of Russia was even greater. Horthy and Kállay always believed that Britain and the United States would never permit Russia to take over the Danubian basin, and thus by turning toward the west they hoped to steer a course which would save Hungary from both nazism and communism. With good reason they felt that it was impossible to revolt openly against Germany until the western powers were in a position to move in. Continued contacts with the western allies, tacit permission for western air forces to use the air space over Hungary, refusal to take a more active part in the war against Russia, finally led the Germans to occupy Hungary in March, 1944.

Kállay sought asylum in the Turkish legation. Eight months later, when Hungarian authorities threatened to coerce the Turkish minister, Kállay surrendered himself. After brief stays in various Hungarian prisons he was sent to Dachau, where he associated with Schuschnigg, Blum, and other high-ranking prisoners. Free and grateful for his liberation by American troops, Kállay nevertheless cannot conceive why Hungary now as in 1919 should be classed as one of the defeated states.

*Bowdoin College*

E. C. HELMREICH



## Far Eastern History

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1935. In Four Volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5068.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. cvii, 1128. \$4.50.)

A GLANCE at this volume of 1,128 pages reminds one of how much more liberal the American government is in making available its state papers than is any other. *The British and Foreign State Papers* for 1935 (printed in 1941 but not published until 1948) contain 1,011 pages, only 45 of which relate to the Far East. Even when publication of British documents for the years between the world wars is completed, it is pretty certain that the number relating to the Far East in 1935 will be only a fraction of those contained in the volume under review. Large as this volume is it contains only a small, although significant, part of the documents for 1935 which will become available in the National Archives in another five years or so. British documents at the Public Record Office are currently open only to about 1903, and it may be another thirty to fifty years before those for 1935 are opened. Even so British policy is more liberal than that of most other governments, except those defeated powers who have had their documents made public by the victors or where new regimes have considered it to their advantage to make public the "sins" of their predecessors.

The volume under review has sections relating to the Far Eastern Crisis (pp. 1-507), China (pp. 508-820), Japan (pp. 821-1104), Siam (pp. 1105-11), and an index (pp. 1115-28). Those documents relating to countries are of a more or less routine nature except the protests to Japan against the oil monopoly in Manchuria, but those dealing with the Far Eastern Crisis are of more spectacular interest. They show that our representatives in the Far East, Russia, and England were deluging the Department of State with accounts of developments and that the department was carefully watching events. This was the period of Japan's effort to develop autonomous regimes in North China and to force the Nanking regime into subservient co-operation, of expected conflict between Japan and Russia, of the Russian sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, of investigation of Russian penetration of Sinkiang, and of British efforts to work with both Japan and China and to strengthen China's finances through the Leith-Ross mission, all of which are fully reported in the volume.

What stands out throughout the documents is the indecisiveness and negative nature of American policy. Economic and political problems at home, military unpreparedness, and long-established habits of mind made us unprepared for decisive action and willing to let Britain take what leadership was taken, while Britain, finding the United States unwilling to join in a Far Eastern alliance, was unwilling to go beyond the efforts of the Leith-Ross mission. Although aware that our silver purchase policy contributed to China's financial instability we were

unprepared to abandon it or to take leadership in measures to strengthen China. In one memorandum Hornbeck strikes out against this negative policy (pp. 328-30), but in another (pp. 463-67) he shows clearly the inability to do anything decisive in the face of the drive of the Japanese military when no one was prepared if necessary to use force. American policy is best summed up in Roosevelt's statement of January 31 to Hull, "Our immediate course should be to watch closely all evidence, reports, rumors, etc., and be prepared to ask for official information both from China and Japan, if and when the situation warrants it."

*University of Chicago*

EARL H. PRITCHARD

CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE WEST: A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY, 1839-1923. By *Ssu-yü Teng* and *John K. Fairbank*. [Prepared in Cooperation with the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 296; 84 [Research Guide]. \$6.75.)

THIS is both a fascinating and highly important book. Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank have translated and brought together significant extracts from a long series of Chinese writings dealing with the problems that China faced in her relations with Europe and America between 1839 and 1923. For the first time, there is made available for other than those who read Chinese a body of material that casts a sharp and illuminating light on how representatives of China's scholar-official class sought during these years to shape their country's response to the impact of the West.

The documents commence with the vigorous letter of Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü to Queen Victoria on the opium issue in 1839; they conclude (apart from a review of China's progress by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao) with a speech by Sun Yat-sen adopting the Russian party system as the means for strengthening the power of the Kuomintang. It is impossible within such a brief review even to summarize the wealth of material presented for the intervening years in the form of memorials to the throne, letters, extracts from articles and books. If these expressions of scholar-official opinion have one thing in common, however, it is a continued ethnocentrism. China remains the Middle Kingdom. The persistent advocacy of reform reflects not a conversion to the basic ideas of the West but recognition of the necessity to compete more effectively with its superior technology and military power. And again and again what the Chinese reformers most urgently stress is the imperative necessity for what Liang Ch'i Ch'ao called "the renovation of the people" in meeting the challenge of the West's more materialistic society.

The translations themselves do not make up the entire book. Its authors have brilliantly sketched in the background for the writings they reproduce and have also worked into their text very illuminating biographical notes on the Chinese

writers. Sources and bibliography are available in a companion volume but the documentary survey itself attests on every page both to the two authors' understanding of Chinese history and to their impeccable scholarship.

*China's Response to the West* does not deal with Communist China. Its terminal date is 1923. Yet today's China can hardly be understood—nor can any real progress be made toward understanding—without far greater knowledge of the China of earlier days than the West now has. The contribution of this book toward such understanding is unique.

*Ohio State University*

FOSTER RHEA DULLES

JAPAN'S NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA: ITS RISE AND FALL, 1937-45.

By F. C. Jones, Reader in History, University of Bristol. [Issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 498. \$6.10.)

*Manchuria since 1931* and other works have already established Mr. Jones's reputation as a leading authority on the diplomatic relations of East Asia. In *Japan's New Order in East Asia* he has made another major contribution to this field. The bulk of this solid volume consists of a detailed, well-documented, and carefully balanced study of Japan's diplomatic relations from the outbreak of the "China Incident" to Pearl Harbor. This is rounded out by an illuminating survey of the political conditions in Japan that lay behind her drive for further empire, two excellent chapters summarizing Japan's wartime policies in her newly conquered domains in Southeast Asia, another recounting her wartime diplomacy and the maneuverings that led to surrender, and finally a thought-provoking chapter of general conclusions.

Mr. Jones has based his work in large part on the ample documentary sources accumulated by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. Much of the story has already been told in comparable detail by others, but no other book has covered the whole subject with equal care; nor are substantial modifications to be expected in the future, unless significant new sources are made available by the British or less probably by the Chinese or Russians.

Mr. Jones has devoted his chief attention to establishing the correct record, but he does indulge in occasional judgments. "The foreign policy of Japan," he finds, "did not represent the steady unfolding of a master-plan . . . devised by a coolly calculating and united band of conspirators," but was "a mixture of opportunism and blunderings," devised by "short-sighted mediocrities." Of the Chinese war he writes, "Tokyo and Nanking were plunged into a general conflict which neither had initially desired and which was to prove ultimately fatal to both." He believes that even in the autumn of 1941 Japanese withdrawal from southern Indochina in return for a relaxation of the oil embargo might have provided a

*modus vivendi* that could have averted the Pacific war, since German defeats in Russia that winter would have altered Japanese attitudes. If the Japanese were not to come to terms with the West, Mr. Jones feels that their best course would have been to co-ordinate their diplomatic and military strategy with the Nazis, rather than to pursue a muddled middle course that "gave Japan the worst of both worlds." Like many others, Mr. Jones believes that the Allied policy of unconditional surrender was a grave mistake. Few will disagree with his general comment on Far Eastern history since 1937 that, "had all the Powers concerned been consciously working to promote the triumph of Communism in that region, they could hardly have been more successful in largely achieving this result."

Harvard University

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

TYPHOON IN TOKYO: THE OCCUPATION AND ITS AFTERMATH.

By Harry Emerson Wildes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. v, 356. \$4.50.)

JAPAN: FROM SURRENDER TO PEACE. By Baron E. J. Lewe van Aduard.

With a Foreword by John Foster Dulles. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1954. Pp. xv, 351. \$7.50.)

THESE two very different books about postwar Japan admirably supplement each other.

Dr. Wildes, writing from rich personal experience as a teacher in prewar Japan and as an occupation official, presents a highly detailed, entertaining, inside account of the American occupation. To him the occupation appeared as a sprawling, hectic, blundering social experiment imposed upon an equally befuddled nation, which nevertheless turned out to be a surprising success. This paradoxical outcome he attributes to the mutual good will of what he calls the occupation's "devoted middle brass" and of the "amazingly cooperative" Japanese populace.

The unique contribution of this book lies in the wealth of intimate facts which the author has assembled. This multiplicity of names, figures, anecdotes, and episodes is handled with such skill and accuracy as to reproduce the authentic "feel" of the frenetic occupation atmosphere. With a sharp sense of humor, the author exposes the occupation's inconsistencies. Out of incomparable familiarity with Japan, he points out the many misapprehensions under which the occupation labored and recognizes many Japanese reactions which most Americans failed to perceive correctly. His observations are shrewd and sound.

The weakness of the book stems from the fact that the author, in his laudable intention to let the facts speak for themselves, has unfortunately gone to the extreme of refraining from any systematic interpretation whatever. The result is that the many facts and episodes he recites, while highly suggestive, are not properly integrated into a balanced picture. The impression he leaves of the occupation, therefore, is that it was a jumble of mistakes and confusion salvaged miraculously by good will alone. But underlying social and historical factors must exist

that explain more rationally why the occupation turned out as well as it did. These factors the author almost wholly neglects, except only for incidental and disconnected flashes of insight.

Baron van Aduard's book answers more than satisfactorily nearly every question Dr. Wildes leaves unanswered. This book is almost starkly bare of details, but it probes penetratingly and systematically into the basic reasons for the events which have affected postwar Japan. As a Dutch diplomat stationed for some time in Japan, the author writes with personal detachment from the immediate concerns of both the American occupation and Japanese life. Reflecting his background, he devotes fully one half of his account to the diplomatic maneuverings leading up to the Japanese peace treaty, which he shows to have been much more significant to the world at large than is generally realized. Even his relatively brief but comprehensive treatment of the purely domestic developments in Japan gains valuable perspective from his keen awareness of the international setting.

While the author approaches his subject dispassionately, he emerges with a warmly appreciative appraisal of the American efforts respecting Japan. He takes due account of the mistakes and shortcomings of the occupation and of the Japanese, including one bit of scathing criticism of the basic American failure to comprehend the contemporary Asian revolutionary movement. But General MacArthur, John Foster Dulles, and their many associates—even Prime Minister Yoshida—are shown to have labored with remarkable devotion, intelligence, and logical consistency in coping with the intricate problem of reintegrating Japan into the world community. He concludes that Japan has been as successfully oriented toward democracy as circumstances would permit. Whether Japan will continue to develop further as a democratic nation or succumb to extremist pressures, he admonishes, will be governed as much by the actions of the world outside Japan as by the efforts of the Japanese themselves.

The great value of this book lies in its balanced, judicious weighing of the great complex of factors affecting Japan. In a deceptively simple literary style, it manages to be comprehensive, logical, and perceptive. While unassuming in tone, it is thoughtful, mature, and wise. Its defects are minor. The author leans a bit too heavily on occupation-supplied data, but his critical sense is sufficient to keep him from being thrown off balance.

*Ohio State University*

KAZUO KAWAI

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA. By *Hugh Tinker*. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. *Lord Hailey*. [University of London Historical Studies, Volume I.] (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by John de Graff, New York. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 376. \$7.00.)

In this work the author's aim is to explain the development of local governmental bodies under British tutelage (especially since 1882), to discuss the in-

terrelations between such development and the movement for national independence, and to indicate the elements of strength and weakness in the foundations of local *self-government* which the new governments of India, Pakistan, and Burma inherited in 1947-48. He deals only with the former "British India," and it is rather extraordinary that no mention is made of the history of local government in any of the Indian princely states, large or small. The book is based almost wholly upon official documents of the former government of India. This necessarily involved the mastery of vast masses of statistics and intractable material in hundreds of official reports. The resulting narrative is crystal clear, and the author is to be congratulated for the skill with which he has dealt with material of this kind. He has written a definitive work which will hold the field for many years.

Despite the book's somewhat technical character, it should by no means be neglected by the nonspecialist. By writing of the last eighty years with his attention focused on the local scene, whether urban or rural, Dr. Tinker has given a new perspective to many aspects of that period which all students of Indian affairs should ponder. First and most important, although local government was an excellent training-ground for the older school of national leaders like Gokhalé and Banerjea, nationalists quickly saw that capture of local bodies would avail them nothing and concentrated their attack on government at the central and provincial level. In modern India foundations of local government and foundations of local *self-government* are very different things; Dr. Tinker's book should remind officials of the new "successor" governments of the imperative necessity of preserving and strengthening the latter and of resisting the temptation to solve too many local problems by dictation from the national or state capital. For example, the experience of the recent past discussed here shows how extremely difficult and complex the problem of revitalizing village panchayats really is. Second, we have in this book further data on the way in which pressure for "communal" representation and electorates manifested itself at the local level even early in this period both with and without "official" inspiration. Third, Dr. Tinker throws much new light on the operation of Indian government in the "dyarchy" period, especially before 1930. The decision to grant greater local autonomy in the 1920's was indeed most significant. Finally, by emphasizing the contrasts with Burma where foundations laid in India were largely absent before 1925, Dr. Tinker makes very clear what a significant contribution the work done since the 1870's to promote urban and rural self-government has made to the present stability of India and Pakistan. His work, under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies, begins a new University of London historical series.

*University of Pennsylvania*

HOLDEN FURBER

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDOCHINA. By *Ellen J. Hammer*. With a Preface by Rupert Emerson. [Published under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 332. \$5.00.)



THIS is a full and very detailed account of the history of French Indochina, especially since the Japanese occupation of 1940-1941. There is a brief account of French colonial administration prior to World War II, and some attention is paid to the economic situation; but the emphasis is placed on the development of nationalism and on political history. Prior to the war the chance that French control would be overthrown seemed remote. Nationalism was largely confined to the small urban minority and did not receive strong support from the peasant 80 per cent. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia the Japanese occupation immensely strengthened nationalism because it disclosed the inability of France to defend her dependency, and so shattered her prestige. The demand for independence burgeoned in every group of society, though it would be going beyond the evidence to assume that the desire for self-government could be equated with democratic government. The same sentiment prevailed in Cambodia and Laos, tempered by their long-standing hostility to the Vietnamese. They had no desire to exchange the control of France for that of Vietnam, and apart from small groups which operated under the control of Ho Chi Minh, these two states remained neutral during the rebellion in Viet Nam.

The French made the capital blunder of greatly underestimating the strength of Vietnamese nationalism, and of believing that it would be satisfied by partial self-government and the retention of a good deal of French control. The second mistake was that too few troops were sent to defeat so widespread an uprising. One of the few who appraised the situation correctly was General Leclerc, the commander in Viet Nam in 1945-1946. He declared that to crush the revolt would require an army that was beyond the resources of postwar France, and that therefore it was necessary to compromise. Other counsels prevailed, and the result was to drive the majority of the Vietnamese nationalists firmly on to the side of Ho Chi Minh and the Communists. The same policy of partial and inadequate concessions was one reason for the failure of the attempt to use Bao Dai to win back the nationalists from Ho Chi Minh. The latter further cemented his control by a combination of assassinating opponents, introducing moderate agrarian reforms that were popular with the peasants, and placing Communists in key positions in the army and the administration.

The book makes it clear that if an election is held the choice will lie between a Communist dictatorship and an authoritarian regime under Bao Dai. Since the former has a good party organization and the latter has not, and since many regard the Communists merely as nationalists and agrarian reformers, the odds are in favor of a Communist electoral success.

*University of Minnesota*

LENNOX A. MILLS

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE, 1939-1941. By *Paul Hasluck*.

[Australia in the War of 1939-1945. Series Four, Civil, Volume I.] (Canberra: Australian War Memorial. 1952. Pp. xvii, 644. 25s.)

THIS volume of 644 pages, including fourteen chapters, sixty illustrations, ten

appendixes, and an extensive index, is part of a large undertaking to write an official history of the participation of Australia in the Second World War. It is planned to consist of twenty volumes, by thirteen different authors, in five series as follows: Series I (Army) seven volumes, Series II (Navy) two volumes, Series III (Air) four volumes, Series IV (Civil) five volumes, Series V (Medical) four volumes. This is the first volume of a two-volume study in Series IV on the history of the government and the people from 1939 to 1945.

The author has amply demonstrated not only a wealth of training and experience in the field in which he writes but also a high degree of scholarship and good judgment in handling and making clear the most difficult and complicated political and administrative situations. Having served as journalist, university lecturer, senior public servant, officer of the Australian diplomatic service, and member of parliament, he is familiar with the men and events of the period and knows the documents, often from firsthand experience. In his own words, "a conscious attempt was made to tell the story of what happened in Cabinet, Parliament, government offices and the polling booth, as that story was seen during the war and not as it may have been interpreted since the war" (p. xii). It is significant that while this study is part of the "official" history of Australia's participation in the war and while the author had free access and unlimited use of all the official records available in the governmental departments, he was not subjected, during its preparation, to any official scrutiny or any official censorship whatever. In what he included, as well as in what he omitted, he was limited only by his own, and his general editor's, sense of fitness and good taste.

The result, therefore, is a contribution of the first importance not only to the history of Australia and of her struggle for unity and security but also to the history of the British Commonwealth and the vast struggle which called forth its greatest effort and sacrifice. It is a narrative covering an enormous amount of detail in respect to politics, administration, and policy, but in spite of this fact it is well organized and frequently brilliantly executed. Because of the unrestricted use of the official records and the liberal quotations from documents, it is also a source book of major importance. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes in the series will measure up to the high standards set by Mr. Hasluck in this splendid contribution.

*State University of Iowa*

W. ROSS LIVINGSTON

## American History

AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited by Merle Curti. [Library of Congress Series in American Civilization.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 252. \$4.50.)

IN 1943 the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant of \$100,000 to the Library of Congress "for the purpose of encouraging the writing and publication of books

on important aspects of American life and culture. . . . [Half of this sum] is being used to subsidize an integrated series of publications dealing with the United States in the twentieth century" (*Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress* . . . June 30, 1949, pp. 20-81).

The present volume, the fifth in the "integrated series," of which Ralph Henry Gabriel is general editor, is edited by Merle Curti, who contributes an introductory essay on "The Setting and Its Problems," which is followed by five other essays: "The Social Sciences," by the late Louis Wirth; "Historical Scholarship," by W. Stull Holt; "Literary Scholarship," by René Wellek; "Classical Scholarship," by Walter R. Agard; and "Philosophical Scholarship," by Arthur E. Murphy. All these essays have substantial interest for historians and deserve their careful reading. A brief review can hardly do justice to this volume, much less to its subject matter, which calls for an essay after the manner of the *Edinburgh Review* in the days of Macaulay. Professor Curti's introductory essay is notable for its insight, its inclusiveness, and its fruitful suggestions; it sets forth a program far more extensive than the five succeeding essays could possibly cover in their two hundred pages. He deals with the emergence of American scholarship from its quasi-dependent status in 1900 to its full independence, and in some fields world leadership in 1950. He emphasizes the influence of scientific research and methods on the scholarly disciplines, the rapidly broadening range of subject matter and the development of new areas of research, the impetus gained through the organization of scholarship and the more effective planning thus made possible, the increasing participation by American scholars in international scholarly organizations and in their activities, the important influence of foreign scholars, many of them exiles, who have become members of the American community, the growing recognition by scholars of their public and social responsibilities and their increasing concern with problems of education, a new awareness on the part of the public and especially of government of the importance and value of scholarly research and the call of scholars to public service on a large scale, and, finally, the delicate problems of intellectual freedom.

The essays on the social sciences, historical scholarship, and classical scholarship seem to be most immediately related to the interests of the historian. All three are admirable, authoritative, and suggestive. The present reviewer, however, does not share Professor Holt's regret (p. 89) that the late J. Franklin Jameson did not elect to devote his great talents to writing history, on his own account, rather than to promoting historical studies of others. His labors in maintaining high standards of scholarship and criticism as editor of the *American Historical Review* (which Gabriel Monod, editor of the *Revue historique*, declared, in 1907, to be the best historical review then published), his work in planning and directing the exploration and description of the major archival sources of American history, his successful campaign for the National Archives building, his comprehensive survey of gaps in the documentation of American history and his success in seeing that many of them were filled, his initiative in setting on foot projects of bibliographical

control, and his many other services to American historical studies were far more useful and far-reaching over the long period than the historical works of highest merit which he would have produced.

Finally the present reviewer regrets that the little volume under consideration is not large enough to include additional essays on such subjects as Oriental studies, Latin-American studies, history of science, history of the arts, including music, historic sites and monuments, linguistics, or the control and description of archives and historical manuscripts.

Washington, D. C.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND

✓ PEOPLE OF PLENTY: ECONOMIC ABUNDANCE AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. By *David M. Potter*. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. xxvii, 219. \$3.50.)

WHAT determined the American character? In nine thoughtful essays, which in basic form were the Walgreen Lectures at Chicago in 1950, Professor Potter singles out "economic abundance." Assailed by misgivings about the concept "national character," he examined the writings of a mixed list of writers as well as the researches of historians and came up with no satisfactory explanation. "National character" was elusive. It could not be pinned down. Even Turner, Beard, and Morison, provocative and learned as they were or are, did not help. For the historians not only "failed to agree on what they mean by 'national character'; they have also failed to agree on what kind of qualities should be taken into account as composing it."

Frustrated in his own discipline in his attempt to explain what determined this "new man" of America, Potter turned to the new behavioral sciences. From the personality and culture concepts of the psychologists and anthropologists, to whom he is willing to give primacy among behavioral scientists, he gained much. Brilliantly utilizing the findings of scholars like Adorno, Kardiner, Klineberg, Kluckhohn, Linton, and Mead, to mention a few, he gained tools of understanding, concepts that included changes in the human environment in which the national character forms and changes. The national character then became what the changing human (as differentiated from the physical) environment did to personality. The findings of historians about the details of the human environment became useful here as they supplemented those of the other more exact behavioral scientists.

What was the particular and peculiar characteristic of the American human environment? It was (and is) *economic plenty*. As a good scientist Professor Potter tests his hypothesis with experience, in this case with American history. He finds that for himself the hypothesis has validity. The abundance of the United States is proverbial. He cites statistics and gives neat illustrations to demonstrate it. American mobility and lack of status are characteristic. Abundance ex-

plains. Americans are democratic. Abundance permits. Americans believe they have a peculiar mission. Abundance explains both the mission and its peculiar nature. American historians have often followed Turner's frontier hypothesis. The frontier was part of abundance. Americans advertise. This is part of abundance. The very nature of child-rearing in America is determined by America's economic plenty.

This brief summary makes Potter's careful analysis appear all too simple. His book is full of insights and astute observations. This reviewer believes it will rank high among the significant books that have influenced historical interpretation in the United States. The reviewer's question is, Can even the changing national character be explained in terms of one condition, one concept, abundance? Are not the answers pluralistic? Perhaps history is not a science and historians cannot in Newtonian fashion find one causal factor. Perhaps it is here that history may temper the new behavioral sciences.

Washington, D. C.

BOYD C. SHAFER

✓ THE SAVAGES OF AMERICA: A STUDY OF THE INDIAN AND THE IDEA OF CIVILIZATION. By *Roy Harvey Pearce*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1953. Pp. xv, 252. \$4.00.)

✓ RED MAN'S AMERICA: A HISTORY OF INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Ruth Murray Underhill*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. x, 400. \$5.50.)

THESE two books are excellent companion pieces, and anyone who reads one should read the other. Pearce is interested in the philosophical concepts the carriers of western European culture held about the native inhabitants of North America with whom they came in contact in the process of settling the New World. This contact was characterized by misunderstanding and hostility on both sides, and through Pearce's incisive analysis we are given insight into some of the causes. The period covered is between 1609 when Richard Johnson's *Nova Britannia* was published and 1851 when Lewis Henry Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* first came out. During the time between the appearance of these two books a series of stereotyped notions about Indians arose and became accepted. These stereotypes are still prevalent today, although the scientific approach to the study of American Indians is now over one hundred years old. To the professional who is continually running across these misconceptions, the analysis supplied by Pearce is fascinating.

Pearce uses the abstract terms Idea, Symbol, and Image to represent savagery, the Indian, and the literary figure of the Indian in his discussion of the conceptions developed by the English-American colonists and settlers, conceptions dramatized by the position of the white frontiersman, who stood between the Indians on the one hand and the whites on the other. Running throughout the book is the theme that the whites believed the Indians to be savages, alternately noble or base

but always inferior and doomed. Advocates for civilizing the Indians agreed on one basic point with those who believed the Indians should be exterminated: that aboriginal life would disappear before the press of white expansionists.

Miss Underhill's book, *Red Man's America*, is more than just another point of view. It serves admirably as an antidote to the poisonous philosophies so carefully documented by Pearce. The reader has the opportunity to balance the real against the conceptual picture, lending depth to each. Miss Underhill's book covers the reconstructed prehistory as well as the history of all the major culture areas north of Mexico. Following Wissler, she delineates nine such areas: the Plains, Basin-Plateau, Mackenzie, Northwest Coast, California, Southwest, Northeast, Southeast, and Eskimo. Her characterizations are sharp, and she carries her story farther in time than did either Wissler in *The American Indian* or Kroeber in *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*. She shows that descendants of the Indians whom Pearce's settlers tried to exterminate still live on reservations all over the western states. According to Miss Underhill they constitute a new problem for our society to solve, but perhaps this is merely a new phrasing of the old one: civilization or extinction.

At last this reviewer understands why many American historians have adopted the howling wilderness theory in regard to the Indian inhabitants of the New World. Evidently our literate ancestors, believing in the manifest destiny of a superior race, refused to acknowledge contributions made by Indians to white culture. These contributions include many of our major food crops, such as corn, cotton, tobacco, and the so-called "Irish" potato. Furthermore, the role played by Indians in the French and Indian War and the War of 1812 is quite often overlooked. No historian who reads the two books here reviewed is likely to fall into the error of assuming that the Indians were just one more elemental force to be tamed, even if it is now abundantly clear that this is exactly what the settler believed.

*Indiana University*

J. A. JONES

COTTON MATHER: FIRST SIGNIFICANT FIGURE IN AMERICAN MEDICINE. By *Otho T. Beall, Jr.*, and *Richard H. Shryock*. [Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, First Series: Monographs, Volume V.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 241. \$4.00.)

This study of Cotton Mather's medical knowledge, its background, and his use of it, is the more valuable because it prints for the first time important sections of his manuscript "Angel of Bethesda." Using this medical treatise and relevant passages in Mather's unprinted "Biblia Americana" and his other writings, it presents an orderly exposition of the nature and sources of his learning, his psychosomatic theories and psychiatric practice, and, especially, the scientific issues involved in the inoculation experiments in Boston in 1721 and their importance in



medical history. Mr. Beall and Mr. Shryock believe that Mather was not an officious and credulous meddler in matters he knew little about, but a scholar who had interested himself before 1721 in the possibility that pathogenic organisms caused and spread disease, had carefully read the evidence on the utility of inoculation, and had decided on quite rational grounds that it deserved a trial. His colleague in the ministry, Benjamin Colman, had by 1721 heard of the "animalcular" theory of disease and mentioned it in a tract, but Mather continued to read and think about it and showed in "The Angel" that he was convinced of its truth. In this he was clearly a scientific pioneer, and a few of his other scientific insights show him to have been fully abreast of what now seems to have been some of the best scientific thought of his time and on occasion more enlightened than most of his contemporaries. He was as credulous as most scientists of his day and swallowed many notions which seem to us absurd, but he did pay serious attention to several little-considered medical discoveries and problems, the importance of which has since been proved. Some of his ideas about psychosomatic relationships and the proper treatment of mental afflictions, however little they directly influenced later generations, foreshadow certain demonstrably useful medical developments in recent years. And it was largely because of him that "the history of immunology, with all its ultimate values . . . , began—above the folk level and on a meaningful scale—in the Boston of 1721."

The authors' treatment of the relation between Mather's medical thought and his theology and of the reasons for the passionate controversy aroused by his advocacy of inoculation, will seem inadequate to students of other strains than the scientific in colonial intellectual history. But they should be grateful for this well-documented study, since it uses material many scholars have neglected and reveals a knowledge of medical history possessed by few other writers on Mather's virtues and defects as a scientist.

*Harvard University*

KENNETH B. MURDOCK

VALLEY OF DEMOCRACY: THE FRONTIER VERSUS THE PLANTATION IN THE OHIO VALLEY, 1775-1818. By *John D. Barnhart*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 338. \$5.00.)

It should be said at the outset of this review that Professor Barnhart has written a book that will provoke a good amount of discussion. He has undertaken the delicate task of determining the origins of democracy among several of the frontier states, and makes an opening declaration that it was not imported from Europe. He immediately shows that various forms out of which the whole body was shaped did have both an English and a European background. He labels as democratic those activities and forces which placed control of political affairs in the largest number of hands with the fewest restrictions. Likewise he decides early in his study that wherever the planter element of the Atlantic seaboard had

an influence democracy was stifled. "Only north of the Ohio," he says, "were the forces working for democracy strong enough to check the planter." This one sentence should make life interesting for the author for a long time to come.

Great emphasis is placed upon the influence of Pennsylvania in the shaping of the frontier democratic tradition. It is true that the framers of the newer state documents either had direct access to the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790, or they used for patterns constitutions which contained significant parts of it. This was especially true in regard to the various bills of rights. Back of this, however, are the facts that even the Pennsylvania document was a composite of many things, and many of these were of tidewater origin. The question arises at this point, how much more important are the forms of government than the principles of government? This almost becomes a central theme of this book.

The formation of the state of Kentucky presents a basic picture of statemaking in general on the frontier. Scarcely a state was formed thereafter which was not pulled away from some other political body. There was a mixture of sentiments in that western part of Virginia which ranged from abject love of Virginia to detestation of it. Special interests of almost every sort appeared to present their views. Three things, however, overshadowed all others: Indians, land, and the inconvenience of bringing to a conclusion certain legal matters.

It took the Kentuckians a long time to make up their minds that they wanted statehood. Part of it was due to lack of a unified public opinion, part of it was due to a degree of caution which has ever characterized the Kentuckians. James Wilkinson's activities cloud a central part of the move to separate Kentucky from Virginia. While it is true that large numbers of the delegates, in fact practically all of them, were natives of Virginia, they were valley Virginians. Several facts should be kept in mind in regard to this group of delegates. First, only one of them was a "coonskin cap" pioneer and that was Benjamin Logan. Second, the moving influence in the convention that drafted the first constitution was George Nicholas of Tidewater Virginia. Any radical sounds that came from Kentucky in the years 1784-1792, came from the Danville Political Club. This reviewer has found it difficult to connect the first Kentucky constitution with these discussions. Those debates were hot, academic, and basically meaningless so far as the constitution was concerned. As Professor Barnhart says, Nicholas had the Pennsylvania constitution before him 75 per cent of the time in drafting the Kentucky document. Then where did all the letters to the editor of the *Kentucky Gazette* and the debates at Danville go?

The finished Kentucky constitution is in many ways a curiosity. In light of the fact that it was the primary frontier document its elements are strange. There was genuine fear of the people, a concentration of control actually in the Bluegrass, lack of an educational clause, an airtight slavery clause, and a characteristic frontier fear of taxation.

With equal diligence the author traces the development of government in Tennessee and the Old Northwest. He has searched through tremendous piles of

materials, and has documented his study heavily: there are ninety pages of notes. He has kept in mind his original question of the sources of democracy and has identified the forces at work on the frontier.

Professor Barnhart's answer to his basic question will involve him in considerable discussion. This reviewer would like to raise a question of his own. How significant was the application of basic democratic principles to the functioning of a democracy? It would be hard to look at Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee political history, for instance, and come away with the conviction that American democracy in this region of the United States has functioned with the people always in mind. Group, machine, and factional controls have been as important in shaping the political traditions as ideals and democratic impulses. Some would say far more. That too was a cardinal part of the frontier tradition.

*University of Kentucky*

THOMAS D. CLARK

PLANTER MANAGEMENT AND CAPITALISM IN ANTE-BELLUM GEORGIA: THE JOURNAL OF HUGH FRASER GRANT, RICE-GROWER. Edited with Introductory Chapters by *Albert Virgil House*. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, Number 13.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 329. \$4.75.)

*Planter Management and Capitalism in Ante-Bellum Georgia* is one of the most significant volumes on the history of the South to appear in recent years. Professor Albert V. House has coupled excellent imaginative scholarship with a splendidly edited record of an important segment of specialized plantation economics—"The Journal and Account Book, 1834-1861" of Hugh Fraser Grant of Elizafield Plantation, Glynn County, Georgia. The result is a volume of merit, filled with careful and adequate explanations and interesting interpretation.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first part contains an account of the Grant family and their plantations; the story of rice culture in Georgia and how it differed from that of other areas; and an excellent analysis of the financing and marketing of rice. Part two consists of "The Journal and Account Book" of Planter Grant in revealing detail. The third part, extremely valuable, contains a useful and, in such volumes, seldom found directory of persons and business firms referred to in "The Journal and Account Book." The bibliography is extensive and the index carefully done. Inside the attractive volume are maps of the plantations of the Grant family on the Altamaha.

Dr. Robert Grant, founder of the Elizafield plantation, retired in 1833 and left the management and operation of the divided plantation to his sons, Hugh Fraser and Charles, with extensive provisions for the welfare of all members of his family. Hugh Fraser Grant became one of the ablest and best-known planters of the region and one of the leading citizens of the Georgia rice belt. Charles Grant was not successful and intermittently relied on his brother to manage the plantation he inherited in 1843. The plantations of the former were going concerns until the

Civil War. In the postwar period despite valiant efforts the family ultimately lost their plantation property. "The Journal and Account Book of Hugh Fraser Grant, 1834-1861" provides much information on his success in the earlier period.

Professor House has presented in this volume a picture of another phase of entrepreneurial capitalism—that of commercialized agriculture. In operation the Grant plantations required the same techniques as business combinations and there is evidence that some of the most magnificent long-range detailed planning in that period was done by planter capitalists. The thoroughness with which such planters studied the details of their operations, sought to break bottlenecks and to control related operations is a tribute to their skill and ingenuity. Men accustomed to the hard work of running such plantations and with the patience and ability to see the whole problem while immersed in and familiar with the remote details were eligible to lead in any society or civilization. It is the opinion of the reviewer that this demonstrated capacity plus the necessary utilization of detail in planning large operations was far more responsible for the role Southern planter-statesmen played in state and national politics than any so-called cultural phenomena. Ability to think clearly, to relate details, to analyze carefully, and to handle the managerial problem was the basis for success in any business, and planting was no exception. One of the tragedies of the present writing of Southern history is the fact that such basic studies are being ignored while politics and society are being studied as things apart. Editor House has in this volume pointed the way to such studies.

*University of Kentucky*

BENNETT H. WALL

✓✓ NEGRO SLAVE SONGS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Miles Mark Fisher*.

With a Foreword by Ray Allen Billington, William Smith Mason Professor of History, Northwestern University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1953. Pp. xv, 223. \$4.00.)

THIS effort to relate Negro slave songs to the history of Negroes in Africa and the New World is the result of prodigious and impressive research. Dr. Fisher discovers eight kinds of influences that went into making the spirituals, ranging from African experiences to the "great spiritual events of American history." Slave songs, he says, "throw light upon camp meetings, African colonization, the oral instruction of Negroes after 1831, work and leisure-time activities of Negro slaves, the Civil War with its soldiers, education, and evangelism, and the Reconstruction" (p. 180). The major portion of the book is devoted to illustrating this point.

The unique methodology employed by the author has an important bearing upon the conclusions he reaches. In inquiring into the origins of Negro songs Dr. Fisher seeks to understand the conditions surrounding their origins, the experiences of those who first sang them, the meaning of the words in the context of the songs' origins, and the total effect the songs were intended to have. This, of course, involved the extensive employment of the principles of internal criticism.

Consequently, his conclusions consist, to a large extent, of inferences drawn from such criticism.

For example, in tracing the origin of the well-known spiritual, "Lord, I Want To Be a Christian," Dr. Fisher points out that in 1756 a Virginia slave approached Samuel Davies, a Presbyterian minister, and said, in broken English, "I come to you, sir, that you may tell me some good things concerning Jesus Christ and my duty to God, for I am resolved not to live any more as I have done." From this utterance came the spiritual which, Dr. Fisher says, "fits the ministry of Davies between 1748 and 1759 and is specifically in accord with the slave's request at Hanover in 1756, the probable place and date of origin" (p. 31). It seems that the accounts of the origins of spirituals based upon such inferences must be highly tentative; and while they are, in some instances, plausible, it is difficult to regard them as conclusive.

Dr. Fisher holds the view that Africans in the New World preserved a good deal of the culture which they had in their native land. Their knowledge of the culture and their desire to return were important ingredients of many spirituals. The American Negro slave practice of holding secret meetings was African, he says (pp. 66 ff.). One may concede that Africans held secret meetings, but it does not necessarily follow that when American Negro slaves held secret meetings in 1822 or 1831 they were perpetuating an African custom. Is it just barely possible that they could have been following the widespread practices of their white masters, many of whom were Masons or members of other secret orders? Or, might they have simply realized that if they were plotting a revolt or an escape, secret meetings were imperative? Later, Dr. Fisher says that after Nat Turner's insurrection Southerners persisted in the "illogical assumption that abolitionism was the cause of Negro unrest rather than admit that the ancient African cult was at work." The assumption of Southerners was, on the face of it, erroneous since it failed to consider numerous other factors at work. But one is not convinced that it was merely the ancient African cult that was at work in 1831; and one is certainly moved to wonder why the cult had not been frequently at work in the previous century, when there were more African-born Negroes in the United States.

This reviewer must take exception to the author's claim that American Negro slaves were enthusiastic about colonization in Liberia and elsewhere. Except for the overly enthusiastic editors of the *African Repository*, few Americans claimed that Negroes were anxious or even willing to return to Africa. And the small number of Negroes who migrated to Africa—barely 9,000 between 1820 and 1850—seems to suggest a lack of enthusiasm. Is it possible, therefore, as the author claims, that Negro slaves were, by 1824, so anxious to go to Liberia (which had been founded only a few years earlier) that they sang of it as "home," "Canaan," and "heab'n" (p. 111)? This reviewer fails to find any conclusive evidence that Negro slaves were referring to Africa when they sang of "another land." If, as the author states, Negroes were nurtured in the finest traditions of American

Christianity, it may be reasonable to assume that some of them sang of that "other world" which was the perennial subject of songs and sermons of the intensely emotional religious sects of the ante-bellum period. There can be no doubt that many of the Negro slave songs are important historical documents; but it is quite possible to make claims for them so extravagant that proof becomes hopelessly elusive if not altogether impossible.

*Howard University*

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE DAYS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY: A JOURNAL KEPT BY W. W. HEARTSILL FOR FOUR YEARS, ONE MONTH AND ONE DAY, or CAMP LIFE; DAY BY DAY, OF THE W. P. LANE RANGERS FROM APRIL 19, 1861, TO MAY 20, 1865. Edited by *Bell Irvin Wiley*. (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 332. \$6.00.)

MY DIARY, NORTH AND SOUTH. By *William Howard Russell*. Edited and Introduced by *Fletcher Pratt*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xiii, 268. \$4.00.)

WILLIAM W. Heartsill, native Tennessean, enlisted in the W. P. Lane Rangers in Texas on April 19, 1861, and served in the Confederate Army until discharged on May 20, 1865. He kept a daily journal in small notebooks which he later re-drafted, then revised, and in 1874-1876 printed one page at a time on a small Octavo Novelty Press. One hundred copies were printed and only a baker's dozen are known to exist. The editor and publisher have rendered a real service to those interested in Civil War history by making Heartsill's book available. It is to be regretted that they reproduced it in facsimile, for the type is small, often blurred, and always difficult to read.

The editor's introduction gives a brief sketch of the author's life, and the appendix contains a section of the author's original version and another of the author's rewrite. The revision indicates that the changes made were in the nature of added detail, corrected errors, and improved style, and did not sacrifice the basic accuracy of the original notes.

Heartsill served in the Southwest, was captured and had a stint in prison in Illinois, was paroled and assigned to service with General Bragg in Tennessee. Shortly after Chickamauga he deserted, and with a few companions made his way through Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana to Texas where he rejoined the Rangers and served as a guard of Union prisoners at Tyler. He describes vividly the life of the common soldier in camp, in prison, and on the battlefield as well as life on the home front as he observed it on his trek from Georgia to Texas. Heartsill was an ardent Confederate, optimistic and confident of victory to the very end.

Unlike Heartsill's journal, William Howard Russell's *Diary* has been known



and used by nearly all students of the Civil War since the end of that conflict. London *Times* correspondent in the Crimean as well as the American Civil War, Russell was favorably received in New York and Washington although the *Times* was known to be sympathetic to the South. Russell met and passed judgment on nearly all the great and near great and many that were not so great. His extraordinary gift of writing close-ups makes his *Diary* of especial importance. His pen pictures of Lincoln and other leaders are vivid portrayals, and his evaluations of these men generally accurate. He found the inhabitants of New York and Washington lukewarm in support of the Union cause, many in fact openly sympathetic to the Confederacy. The New York merchants were "silent, fearful of offending their Southern friends and connections. . . . Their sentiments, sympathies, and business bound them with the South." But when war came "their change in manners, in tone, and in argument . . . [was] most remarkable."

Leaving Washington, Russell made a tour of the South, visiting Charleston, Savannah, Montgomery, Mobile, and New Orleans. He was favorably impressed with the South generally; and he was sympathetic to the Southern cause, although he openly showed his hatred of slavery. He found great unanimity of feeling in the South, both with respect to the justness of their cause and their confidence in the ability and leadership of President Davis. Russell himself soon became convinced that the South would win its independence and that the Union could not be restored.

From New Orleans Russell went up the Mississippi to Chicago, across to New York, and then to Washington where he observed, but was unimpressed with, the preparations for the first battle of Manassas or Bull Run. His letter to the *Times* describing the panic and rout of the raw, poorly disciplined troops won for him his nickname "Bull Run," and the undying hatred of the Unionists. He made every effort to secure permission to accompany the federal troops under General McClellan in 1862, but was refused permission "because I told the truth about Bull Run," said he. Russell then returned to England and published his *Diary* in 1863.

Fletcher Pratt, as editor, writes an introduction, cuts out Russell's introduction and table of contents, and reduces the contents of the original edition by about two thirds. He says he left out "no essential fact or opinion," "no important personal contact" made by Russell. This may be true but he did omit much valuable data about the people and conditions of both North and South. Because of the brighter appearance and brevity of the new edition it will be popular with the general public, but the serious student of history will use the original edition.

*University of North Carolina*

FLETCHER M. GREEN

BEYOND THE HUNDREDTH MERIDIAN: JOHN WESLEY POWELL  
AND THE SECOND OPENING OF THE WEST. By Wallace Stegner.  
With an Introduction by Bernard DeVoto. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 438. \$6.00.)

THE author brings his book to an early climax when he tells in great detail the story of Major Powell's passage through the canyons of the Colorado, from Wyoming to Arizona. There is a real contribution here, even though William Culp Darrah published a good account of the same episode three years ago. The superiority of the second telling lies in Mr. Stegner's knowledge of the river and in his power to describe the impressive, vivid, and bizarre scenery through which the Colorado flows. As an extra treat he includes several nineteenth-century drawings and paintings which illustrate how the canyon country stimulated the artist to depart from realistic conceptions of nature.

The chronicler and dramatizer of Powell's great exploration fails to make the grade as historian of his later life. In part it is because Mr. Stegner couldn't decide what to do with many of the facts he collected. Without a standard of selection or discrimination his chapters become a miscellany, or even worse trivial and unoriginal. Part II, on the Colorado plateau, is a mixture of history, geography, science, anthropology, and nature description. Whenever the author introduces a new topic he feels he must do considerable backtracking; but the information he presents is usually quite familiar. He reduces the history of the U. S. Geological Survey to a story of personal feuds and factions.

Of course the book has a focus and a worth-while theme when Mr. Stegner is discussing Powell's abortive attempt to get a reclamation program started. He pictures the major as fighting all by himself in 1890 for science, democracy, and planning while he characterizes the opposition—which in the end includes practically everybody from Kansas west—as stupid, venal, or ignorant. No such unlikely division of virtue and intelligence ever occurred. Struggling with a complicated situation, neither Powell nor his opponents came up with a practical solution, primarily because they would not admit the unpleasant fact that the government must make the capital investment if large-scale irrigation was to succeed. Both sides persisted in the erroneous belief that private financing was feasible.

Mr. Stegner's complementary thesis is equally untenable: that Powell was the fountainhead of the conservation movement. Preoccupied with reclamation, where he was a failure, he left to others the pioneering in forestry, national parks, and soil research. His highest intellectual or political achievements do not lie in this direction at all; their locus is the Geological Survey which he did so much to organize.

*Washington, D. C.*

THOMAS G. MANNING

WOODROW WILSON AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1910-1917. By *Arthur S. Link*. [The New American Nation Series] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xvii, 231. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Link's new book, one of the first two volumes to be published in the "New American Nation Series" edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, is a prodigious piece of original scholarship. Drawing on years of

research undertaken for his multivolume biography of Woodrow Wilson, now in progress, Professor Link has based almost his entire narrative not on the articles and monographs of other scholars in the field but on his own delving into the mountainous manuscript sources and periodical literature of the Wilson era. The writer of twentieth-century history is faced by such an Everest of source material that one may well argue that his primary task should be skillful interpretation rather than exhaustive scholarship, that his time is more profitably spent in mastering the literature of the social sciences and of European history in order to present a more meaningful history than in attempting the exhaustive documentation which may be appropriate for earlier periods. In writing this book, Professor Link has demonstrated that a historian of indefatigable energy can still maintain high standards of thoroughgoing research in writing twentieth-century history. This is both the strength and weakness of the book; the scholarship is impeccable, but the book would be stronger if the focus were not so exclusively on the State Department and the halls of Congress, if political and diplomatic events were more closely related to intellectual currents in Europe and America. The problem is not that Professor Link has chosen to write straight "political history"; given the limitations of space and the nature of the period he was studying, he had little alternative. It is rather that one misses the understanding of what Lionel Trilling means when he writes that "it is no longer possible to think of politics except as the politics of culture." In this sense, the book may be regarded as one of the last stands of nineteenth-century German methodology in the writing of twentieth-century history.

This is not to say that Professor Link completely shuns interpretation for straight narrative; on the contrary, he has set forth three new interpretations of the Wilson era that are certain to change markedly the familiar picture of the period that has been presented in American classrooms for the past generation. (If they are not wholly "new," it is largely because they have been adumbrated in Professor Link's earlier writings.) First, he argues that Wilson was not the sponsor of most of the "Wilsonian" reform legislation; that Wilson had only a limited program of reform embodied in his concept of the New Freedom, and that he was coerced into the adoption of more far-reaching measures by southern agrarians like Kitchin and eastern liberals like Brandeis. Secondly, he argues that Wilsonianism must not be thought of exclusively in terms of the New Freedom; that by 1916, indeed, there had been such an "astonishing metamorphosis in Democratic policies" that Wilson had taken over lock, stock, and barrel the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt. Thirdly, he argues, contrary to the interpretation of Matthew Josephson and others, that the Progressive movement had not died out well before the outbreak of war, that, on the contrary, the winter of 1916 "was a time full of joy and hope for another four years of peace and an intensification of the drive for social justice." If Professor Link has not succeeded in demonstrating these points as conclusively as one would wish, if he frequently uses terms like "radical" and "progressive" much too loosely, if he occasionally

views the politics of 1916 in terms of the ideological warfare of 1936, if he sometimes seems unduly harsh in his treatment of Wilson, he has nonetheless written a book which is incomparably the best single volume on the Wilson era.

*Columbia University*

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

TAXATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Randolph E. Paul*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. xii, 830. \$15.00.)

THIS book is at once a comprehensive history of federal taxation in the United States and an encyclopedic treatment of tax problems. The history includes court and legislative law, considerable general history, biological snapshots, extensive quotations from debates, spicy anecdotes, digests of important literature, collateral foreign developments. Tax problems include such diverse areas as corporate taxation, capital gains, loopholes, fiscal policy, budgetary innovations, tax limits (Colin Clark), and taxation for social and economic objectives. Special chapters deal with problems of administrative and judicial procedure, needed changes in the tax laws, and progressive taxation. The author undertakes to write both for the layman and the tax specialist, for entertainment and for knowledge. Along with Blough, the economist, he attempts to bridge the gap between law and economics. He set himself a truly prodigious task which in nearly 800 sometimes rambling pages he accomplishes with an amazing degree of success.

The author writes from the highly strategic vantage point of experience as a public servant, tax lawyer, and widely read scholar. His point of view (New Deal) is always evident; but its frank exposure and his judicial treatment give the book a fair score of objectivity.

The book illustrates the advantages of the historical approach. It enables one to see in perspective the perennial tax arguments such as that which views each new tax proposal as "crushing the initiative of the American people." It requires one to revise certain impressions such as that which views Republicans always abhorring deficits while Democrats accept them easily. It impresses upon one the fact of certain revolutionary changes in attitudes; the author goes so far as to predict that in the next depression businessmen will be the first to demand governmental increases in spending and reduction in taxes.

The chapter on progressive taxation submits a running review of countless opinions and arguments concerning this controversial subject. The author concludes characteristically that too much of this discussion has been on a highly theoretical level and he pleads for a more pragmatic approach. For example, he submits the argument that revenue necessity requires mass taxation to the endurance-limit of poor people and that fiscally unimportant surtaxes are necessary to support poor taxpayers' morale. He views the tax battle as a perennial struggle between group interests "which will never end in a decisive victory for either side."

Critics will probably find a few flaws in this book. It seems a pity, for instance, that so much reference material should go undocumented by either bibliography or footnotes (the latter being confined to legal cases). The author, while making a number of shrewd and penetrating original points, is usually more successful in presenting the argument of others than in developing a point of view of his own. But the work on the whole is a monumental accomplishment and it will strike the least common denominator of a wide range of needs.

*University of Wisconsin*

HAROLD M. GROVES

THE SUPREME COMMAND. By *Forrest C. Pogue*. [United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1954. Pp. xxi, 607. \$6.50.)

THE fourth, and to most readers the most interesting, of the subseries of official studies on "The European Theater of Operations" carries the story from the organization of SHAEF and the preparations for the Normandy landing to the final surrender of Germany. Although the book is, of course, a highly technical military study, one reason for its special interest to the general reader is stated in the preface: "This volume differs from others in the European series because of the greater attention necessarily given to political or nonoperational questions. To tell the full story of SHAEF, I have had to interrupt the operational narrative on occasion in order to interject discussions of such matters as press relations, civil affairs, military government, psychological warfare, and relations with the liberated countries of Europe."

The author relates the fairly familiar story of how Eisenhower rather than Marshall came to be the head of the expeditionary force to the Continent. It is interesting to note that a contemporary German estimate rated Eisenhower very highly: "His strongest point is said to be an ability for adjusting personalities to one another and smoothing over opposite viewpoints" (p. 34); yet Mr. Pogue thinks he "showed at times that he lacked the thick skin which public figures so often require" and he was sensitive to newspaper criticism (p. 35). The problems that confronted the new commander were many and great, not merely the technical ones of organization, transport, and supply but the rather wide differences of opinion between British and American authorities as to the general strategy of the war. On the very eve of the Normandy invasion new perplexities arose, ranging from the effect of the German rockets on troop concentrations in southern England to the effect on French civilian morale of American bombings of railway centers in France. It is amazing that in view of the magnitude of the operation the "most jealously guarded secret—the exact area of the main blow and the approximate date—were not included in the German intelligence estimates" (p. 164), as is shown by a postwar examination of German sources.

So successful was the campaign in France that an enthusiastic military intelli-

gence statement prophesied the end of organized resistance by December 1, 1944, or "even sooner" (p. 245), recalling an optimistic forecast of 1943 that Germany was even then in a worse condition than when she surrendered in 1918 (pp. 104-105). General Eisenhower himself was too well aware of the logistic difficulties of a rapid advance to share such illusions. Germany still had the energy for a winter counteroffensive in Belgium, the Battle of the Bulge. Hitler did not begin to lose hope until well into April of 1945; indeed, he professed to see in Roosevelt's death a good omen of victory. But the collapse followed swiftly. Military and civilian heads were rapidly shifted in Germany, and Hitler toyed with many inconsistent and impossible military plans before finally seeking a refuge from responsibility in suicide. The process of surrender gave opportunity for frequent evidence of Russian jealousy and suspicion, forecasting the difficult years which lay ahead, but these problems are not so fully discussed as in Churchill's memoirs. There are many interesting pages on the difficulties caused by three extremely able but highly temperamental "prima donnas" of the war: General De Gaulle, General Patton, and Field Marshal Montgomery.

*Ann Arbor, Michigan*

PRESTON SLOSSON

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING POLITICS IN 1952. Prepared by *Paul T. David, Malcolm Moos, and Ralph M. Goldman*. Volume I, THE NATIONAL STORY. Volume II, THE NORTHEAST. Volume III, THE SOUTH. Volume IV, THE MIDDLE WEST. Volume V, THE WEST. [Report of the Cooperative Research Project on Convention Delegations Prepared under the auspices of the American Political Science Association.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 256; xi, 369; xi, 363; xi, 344; xi, 298. \$17.50 per set.)

THIS project was carried on with the co-operation of the Brookings Institution and represents the result of the long-continued effort of successive officers of the American Political Science Association to produce such a co-operative research program. The president of the Association, Ralph Bunche, declares in his foreword that the result demonstrates that such "research can be conducted successfully by our Association." Many persons contributed to various parts of the study at various stages. Some of these are named in the acknowledgments made by the project director, Paul T. David of the Brookings Institution. Messrs. David, Moos, and Goldman shared the task of writing the chapters in Volume I.

The plan of the publication presents the national story in Volume I; beginning with "The National Nominating Process" (17 pages), amplified in "The Pre-Convention Campaign of 1952" (44 pages), and continuing with chapters on each of the national conventions (88 pages). The editors then conclude with three chapters on "Procedures and Experience in the 48 States" (35 pages), "Basic Issues of Nominating Procedures" (36 pages), and "The Record and the



Future" (14 pages). The distribution reflects accurately the concentration of interest on the conventions.

Volumes II, III, IV, and V—in which the story of the states is presented—represent the work of approximately one hundred contributors, the majority of them professional political scientists on university faculties in their respective states.

The task of the editors has been successfully performed. There are pages of truly illuminating narrative and exposition in Volume I. A work to which so many have contributed is uneven not only in style but also in content. This is notably true in the treatment of state primary campaigns, and in the evaluation of the process by which candidates won or lost. There are pages which read not unlike the summaries made on the radio from the conventions, but there are also highly important contributions made by participants after (but not too long after) the event. It may well be that, as is asserted on the dust jacket, "more than three hundred and fifty political scientists worked on the project," and certainly every political scientist here and abroad will find these volumes of first importance in the publications of this year.

For the historian there may be another test and judgment. For the historian considering American politics in the twentieth century, these volumes are indispensable. Herein for his use are the facts—meticulously gathered, intelligently arranged and thoughtfully appraised—that he must use in constructing the story of the crucial year 1952. If understanding may arise out of a narrative of the events of this amazing phenomenon of self-government, then it may follow an examination of these volumes.

Whereas the results of this study may be, as is asserted in the advertisement, of greatest interest to those who will participate in the election of 1956, the study itself is of even greater interest to the historian who is concerned with the election of 1952 and the forty that preceded it.

Had we had such a study of the practices that were common in the Republican Convention of 1912, or of the membership of the Democratic Convention of 1932, there is little doubt that the story of 1952 would have been quite different. Politicians learn from experience, but their experience is foreshortened by incomplete records and tricky memories. The political scientist—who is usually a politician at heart—has presented here a great boon to the citizen who would be his own historian.

*Stanford University*

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THE SENATE: A STUDY OF THE  
CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENTS BY THE UNITED STATES  
SENATE. By *Joseph P. Harris*. (Berkeley: University of California Press.  
1953. Pp. xii, 457. \$5.00.)

THE American public has long since accepted the political connotations of the senatorial confirmation of the appointments of officers of the United States required by the Constitution. Curiously this important feature of our political life has rarely been made the subject of a comprehensive and scholarly study. This is precisely what Professor Harris has done. Wisely he has focused his attention on the top political officers who constitute only about one per cent of the total but who are concerned with making policy or with exercising general control over the government. Most of the positions requiring senatorial confirmation are considered by the Senate en bloc so that confirmation with rare exceptions is a mere formality. In the case of postmasters, district judges, and many local officers nomination by the President is also a formality as it is the congressmen or senators or local party organization who really nominate.

After an introductory chapter and one on the Constitutional Convention, Professor Harris presents in five chapters of seventy-eight pages an account of the difficulties over appointments of all the Presidents from Washington to Wilson. Clearly the treatment of so long a period in so short a space must be cursory. The following five chapters of one hundred pages continue the chronological account at a slower pace through Truman's administration. Then about midway in the book Professor Harris abandons chronology and turns to a topical analysis. There are chapters on the "courtesy of the Senate," on the Senate's procedure, on the Senate's action in the cases of cabinet officers and the heads of independent agencies, of diplomatic officers, of judges, and of administrative and military officers. After another chapter telling of the Senate's attempts to extend its participation in the appointing power to additional categories of employees, there is a final chapter giving Professor Harris' judgment of the American experience with the senatorial confirmation of Presidential appointments. He takes a dim view of it.

Most intelligent Americans already share that view and I am confident that all of them would after reading this book. I am also confident that they would find reading the book a dreary rather than an exhilarating task. The strange shift in organization from chronological to topical treatment has resulted in much repetition in spite of many cross references. A more difficult obstacle in the path of the plodding reader is the literary quality of the book. The writing, accurately reflecting the thought, is clear enough but is always obvious and on the surface. It never displays penetrating insights or wit or an awareness that the characters in the action, yes, even the senators, are human beings and as such offer man his most fascinating subject of contemplation, next to himself of course. Probably it was a book like this which caused that ancient reader to complain that "much study is a weariness of the flesh." Those of us who inhabit history departments will feel a special annoyance because the sources used are so limited. Even in the most intensive chapters the evidence is drawn chiefly from the hearings before a Senate committee. Certainly the hearings are the first and most obvious source to

use and they may well suffice to tell the story correctly in all essentials. Nevertheless, to inspire confidence among historical scholars an author must buttress his account with data drawn from many other sources. Is this an example of scholarly snobbishness with which we in history resent the invasion of "our" field by practitioners of another branch of learning? I think and hope not.

In any event I can end honestly with the usual reviewer's bromide: "In spite of these limitations the book is a valuable one which no person interested in this important subject can afford to ignore."

*University of Washington*

W. STULL HOLT

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

General History

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XX, 1951, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the Assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. xxiv, 387.) This twentieth volume of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* "covers the historical literature appearing in 1951" and also includes "some publications of previous years." Thirty-three countries and three international organizations, the preface informs us, contributed to the work. The preface further indicates that, in the face of specific instructions to hold the number of entries to ten thousand, fully twelve thousand were actually submitted. To maintain the bibliography's "high scientific character" and to keep the book within feasible limits, the Paris editors found it necessary to make rigorous selections until they brought the total down to a more manageable 7,116. The bibliography is divided into twenty sections that range from "General Historical Bibliographies" to "Oceania." Each section is, in turn, subdivided into narrower classifications. How adequate are the selections for many of the sections this reviewer is completely incompetent to judge. On familiar ground however she could not but be struck by the capricious nature of the entries for works on American history. About 150 items, many of them articles, ranging from Mizener's biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald to Aptheker's *Documentary History of the Negro* to Roe's *The North American Buffalo* presume to cover the year's output. There are significant omissions, even given the selective nature of the listing. Furthermore, patient thumbing through the volume reveals that Perry Miller's *Jonathan Edwards* appears under "Philosophy and Conceptions of the World," and that Quinn's *Literature of the American People* is sandwiched in, under "Literature, General," between an entry on Shakespeare in Russia and one on "Le 'Bon prêtre' dans la littérature française." Indeed the groupings often leave the impression that entries were tossed together because their titles alone suggested a ready classification. The intention of the bibliography is, of course, to cut across national lines and to make readily available all contributions in a specific field. It is certainly desirable to emphasize that culture often transcends national lines. But what uses are served or insights developed by putting together in one section Brinton's *Ideas and Men* (4818) and a title on sixteenth-century Mexican culture (4839); or Whittaker's *History of the Theories of Aether* (1074) and an article, "Why Engineers Should Study History" (1047)? Such associations seem more haphazard than planned. Two indexes—one of authors and persons and one geographical—compensate somewhat for the deficiencies of organization. But the indexes are not complete unfortunately. (See, for instance the failure to index Salvemini's article, item 5662 under Italy.) Since there is no subject index, many references which do not have geographical names in their titles are lost altogether unless the historian has the patience to thumb through the whole book for bibliographical clues which he could probably locate more easily through other sources. The idea of co-operation among historical organizations is impressive as is the objective of an international bibliography. Perhaps in time, with improved compilation and classification, the bibliography will be impressive too.

MARY FLUG HANDLIN, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

LA DIPLOMATIE: SES ORIGINES ET SON ORGANISATION JUSQU'A LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. By *Léon van der Essen*, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. (Brussels, Les Presses de la Diffusion du Livre, 1953, pp. 205.) Korteweg has defined diplomacy as the "ensemble des règles objectives et de coutumes juridiques qu'on observe en temps de paix pour ordonner les rapports entre des Etats souverains" and, in its second function, as "un art, notamment l'art de conduire des négociations internationales." Accepting this definition, Professor van der Essen has undertaken to discuss the evolution of the organization, protocol, and conventions of diplomacy from the fifteenth century to the end of the *ancien régime*. For the student of diplomacy, this is the kind of useful volume which will take its place beside Harold Nicolson's essay on diplomacy in the modern period. The author has divided his work into three sections: the first dealing with the origins and development of "permanent" diplomacy—that is, the practice of one state having permanent missions in the capitals of all the states with which it had relations rather than relying on occasional special missions of limited duration and purpose; the second dealing with the ways in which the missions of the secular states of Europe conducted their business—the tasks of the ambassador, the protocol guiding his activity, and the sources of information used by envoys on mission in reporting to their sovereigns; and the third providing a careful analysis of the diplomacy of the Roman Church—the nuncios and legates and their sphere of action and responsibility. An outstanding feature of this volume is its thoughtful treatment of what might be called diplomatic style—that is, the written and unwritten rules guiding the diplomat in his tasks of negotiation, representation, and reporting. This analysis, based on the numerous handbooks written by diplomats from Dolet and Hotman in the sixteenth century to Callières and Bynkershoek in the eighteenth, is filled with amusing and instructive sidelights on the practice of the art of diplomacy in its formative period.

GORDON A. CRAIG, *Princeton University*

BRITAIN AND INDUSTRIAL EUROPE, 1750-1870: STUDIES IN BRITISH INFLUENCE ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN WESTERN EUROPE. By *W. O. Henderson*. (Liverpool, University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 255, 25s.) From a vast polyglot variety of sources Mr. Henderson has collected evidence on the migration of British skilled workers, equipment, managers, entrepreneurs, and capital to continental Europe during the period when Britain was schoolmaster, as well as workshop, of the world. In country after country, industry after industry, he tracks down the men who introduced new textile machines, machine-making, coke blast furnaces, puddling and steel processes, railroads, steamboats, factory organization, and the rest of the British technical innovations. Of this large army many are little more than named, placed, and dated in what becomes a dreary catalogue; but the important figures get such detailed treatment that they come to life. In France there is John Holker, Lancashire Catholic Jacobite refugee, who was inspector general of factories for thirty years before the Revolution; the Manbys, who dominated the iron, engineering, and steam transportation fields during the 1820's; Brassey's railroad construction gangs in the forties; and the Yorkshire partners, Lister and Holden, who revolutionized wool-combing during the Second Empire. The Belgian story is largely that of William Cockerill and his more famous son John, who built up the largest integrated enterprise, ranging from coal and iron mines through machine-making to machine-using, in Europe. In Germany the immigrants were fewer but their influence was great and in two instances unusual: Prince Smith, who emerged as the free trade counterpart of List, and the Irishman Mulvany, who passed on from a distinguished career as civil servant and engineer at home to become a leader in developing

the Ruhr coal field. The main defect of this very useful book is that it is a series of "studies" rather than a study. It reads like a collection of articles—some sections have already been published as such. Hence there is repetition of introductory generalizations, for example about the British ban on machinery exports and on emigration of skilled workers in sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6; the same factual details appear on pages 28, 63, and 77; while Mulvany gets a two-page sketch on pages 156-58, then a whole chapter on pages 179-93. This is not very good book-making—or editing. The maps are not very informative.

HERBERT HEATON, *University of Minnesota*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume II, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 5412.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. xcv, 853, \$4.25.) This volume, one of five on the external relations of the United States during the year 1936, contains the major portion of the European record for that dispiriting twelvemonth. Materials having to do with Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and such general topics as the second phase of the London Naval Conference of 1935 and the later meetings of the Geneva Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments have been assigned to other volumes, but with these exceptions the 887 documents published here offer what appears to be a most adequate sampling of Washington's diplomatic exchanges with the governments of Europe. The papers bearing upon relations with the lesser states, France, and Italy run heavily to commercial negotiation, and accurately reflect the Roosevelt administration's concern for the reciprocal trade program. By contrast, the import of the papers which relate to Spain and Germany is more strictly political. The section on Spain contains nearly 500 documents arising from the issues and circumstances of the Spanish civil war; no less than 264 of these are concerned with the protection of American nationals. Appropriately enough, the dispatches of Ambassador William E. Dodd, in Berlin, are prodigal with speculations on Hitler's larger policies and the quality of his support among the German people, as well as extended analyses of Nazi persecution of the Jews, Nazi treatment of the churches, and Nazi educational innovations. An especially interesting feature of this section is a series of 23 documents recording the efforts of the United States government to secure the release of one Lawrence Simpson, an American seaman arrested in Germany for distributing communist literature. The volume gives nothing on Lithuania, Bulgaria, Sweden, and Denmark—a fact which is doubtless to be taken as an indication that those countries had no serious business with the United States during the year under review.

DONALD F. DRUMMOND, *University of Michigan*

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## Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton<sup>1</sup>

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM ARAMAIC PAPYRI: NEW DOCUMENTS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. FROM THE JEWISH COLONY AT ELEPHANTINE. Edited with a Historical Introduction by *Emil G. Kraeling*. [Publications of the Department of Egyptian Art, Brooklyn Museum.] (New Haven, Yale University Press for Brooklyn Museum, 1953, pp. xv, 319, 23 plates, \$10.00.) Many scholars have had occasion to use the translation of some Aramaic papyri from Assuan which Sayce and Cowley published in 1906. It has long been considered a most interesting as well as a most important bit of knowledge that there was a Jewish colony in the fortress town of Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. The picture given by these documents, however, was a partial and fragmentary one. In 1911 Edward Sachau published additional ones found by Rubensohn at Elephantine. It was clear that the Jews had built a temple here and also that it had been destroyed by jealous devotees of Egyptian gods. One important chapter in the story was to remain hidden for half a century. The present collection, called the Brooklyn Papyri, was purchased by Charles Edwin Wilbour early in 1893. These nine complete rolls, eight with original cords and sealings, together with numerous fragments were packed in tin biscuit boxes. There they remained, in the bottom of a trunk, until 1947 when a daughter bequeathed them to the Brooklyn Museum. The fascinating story of this Jewish colony is too long to be summarized here. But we must note, in the publication under review, a landmark in the history of American scholarship. The making of this book is a tribute to the skill of American publishers. The editing, translating, commentary, and the historical chapters all proclaim Emil Kraeling as one of our finest living scholars. The work is thorough in every respect. The scholarship is deep, sound, and painstaking. The technical museum skill used in relaxing, reading, and preserving the documents was of a high order, and the photography which made the excellent plates left nothing to be desired. In addition to magnificent bibliographical lists, there is an index of proper names, and an index of words. There are twelve documents, all in good shape and some quite long, as well as fine additional fragmentary papyri.

THOMAS A. BRADY, *University of Missouri*

ROMAN POLICY IN EPIRUS AND ACARNANIA IN THE AGE OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF GREECE. By *Stewart Irvin Oost*. [Arnold Foundation Studies, Volume IV, New Series.] (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1954, pp. vi, 138, \$4.00.) This thorough University of Chicago dissertation advances and elaborates the very probable thesis that, owing to considerations of logistics, the policy of Rome in Epirus and Acarnania differed from her policy in other Greek states. Before the First Macedonian War, although they maintained a protectorate in Illyria, the Romans ignored the Epirotes and the Acarnanians. But when Rome determined upon active intervention in Greece and Macedonia, considerations of logistics came into play. After the Peace of Phoenice, in 205 B.C., the Epirotes and the Acarnanians became *amici* of Rome. During the Second Macedonian and Syrian wars Rome deliberately conciliated them and continued the relationship of *amicitia*. At the end of the Second Macedonian War came Flamininus' famous declaration of the "freedom" of the Greek states. Although the Epirotes and the Acarnanians were still treated as *amici*, members, like Athens and a few other cities, of the most favored class of Greek state, it was obedience that was then required of them, as they learned quite clearly during

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

the Third Macedonian War. The central thesis of the dissertation and the elaboration of one of the subsections were suggested by the writings of Professor J. A. O. Larsen, who directed the work and to whom the author makes due acknowledgment, along with acknowledgment of his great debt to Holleaux (to whom all workers in the field are indebted), Walbank, De Sanctis, and others. Inasmuch as the primary sources are limited, in the main, to the accounts of Livy and Polybius, the discussion, of necessity, had to proceed over hazardous bridges of conjecture and *a priori* reasoning. The field of conjecture was extended further still, owing to the desirability of placing the development of Acarnanian and Epirote affairs in the context of the history of Greece in general in the early period of Roman intervention. Two additional observations may be made, one concerning the editing of the book, the other concerning book production. The reader's task has been made difficult by the use of short titles without the indispensable adjunct of either a bibliography or a "list of works cited" in the notes. Moreover, there is no index. As regards book production, while he appreciates the very great contributions of university presses to scholarship and their equally great financial problems, this reviewer feels very strongly that if volumes like this one cannot be distributed at a lower price, either the sale of such volumes will be limited to the most specialized research libraries, or some other medium of distribution will appear.

JOHN DAY, *Barnard College*

THE ROMAN FRONTIER IN WALES. By V. E. Nash-Williams. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1954, pp. xviii, 161, 42 plates, 30s.) This volume serves as a good example of the importance of archaeological studies to the field of historical research. The record of Roman Wales found in the literary sources of Roman history are at best very sketchy and often uncertain. Our information concerning this remote frontier is thus derived largely from the discoveries of the archaeologist, supplemented by and interpreted in the light of literary and epigraphic evidence. Much, of course, has been done on the archaeology of Roman Wales, but this particular work brings together the results of many years of labor into the convenient form of a single volume. A brief account of the Roman conquest of Wales is followed by an extensive and detailed descriptive survey of each of the base-fortresses, the coastal stations, and the inland stations which made up the Roman frontier system established there. This constitutes a considerable portion of the text. The material which follows, after a brief account of the garrisons stationed in Wales, is largely dependent on the information brought together in the chapter concerned with this descriptive survey. The general scheme of the Welsh frontier system as suggested by the plan of the Roman road lines found in the Antonine Itinerary, the Ravenna Cosmography, and existing milestones is fully confirmed by the work of the archaeologist. The corners of the Welsh quadrilateral defense system were anchored down by four great base-fortresses to which all of the auxiliary forts and outposts were related. Once having explored the remains of each fort and outpost, and having determined their nature as well as the place of each in the entire scheme of fortifications, it was possible to arrive at some conclusions regarding the methods adapted by the Romans in the distribution, siting, and planning of the Welsh frontier stations. On the basis of the accumulated data found in the descriptive survey, the author makes a comparison of the sizes, shapes, and plans found among the various groups of stations according to their rank and use. This study is followed by a good discussion, accompanied by appropriate diagrams, of the comparative plans of defenses and gates, administrative and barrack buildings, together with the granaries, commandants' houses, and headquarters buildings. Some insight into the private life of these communities can be found in the discussion of the findings made among the ruins of the extramural settlements which

included private dwellings and bath houses. The author concludes this work with a brief chapter summarizing the history of the Roman occupation of this frontier from the end of the first century to the close of the fourth century. It is not possible to carry this history further since no final word can be given as to the end of Roman dominion in this area until more extensive work has been done on the sites of the outlying stations and the late coastal stations. The appendixes are useful and supplemented with a series of splendid plates illustrating different aspects of the various excavations. This volume is indispensable to any consideration of Roman Wales and is certainly a fine contribution to the whole subject of Roman fortifications and frontier defenses.

RICHARD H. CHOWEN, *University of South Carolina*

THE NORTH AFRICAN PROVINCES FROM DIOCLETIAN TO THE VANDAL CONQUEST. By *B. H. Warmington*, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of Bristol. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 124, \$2.50.) This book will be useful for those who have a general interest in the later Roman Empire as well as for those who are especially interested in Roman Africa. It seems to reflect a growing interest in the later empire which has manifested itself in a number of studies reviewing evidence which has long been known but which has not had a thorough reworking since the last century. The experience that has accrued since then may well give us a better point of view. For example, the author has taken a step forward in his description of the *curiales* of the towns. There is no new evidence, but this description is much more practical and sensible than earlier ones. Again, he is careful about using the phenomena as evidence of the so-called decline. He does point out some real weaknesses in the life of the African provinces, but he does not tell us, about anything and everything, that "this is another evidence of the decline." There are chapters on provincial administration, military history, the frontier and its defenders, the cities, the country, the Moors and the Romans, Donatism, and the intellectual life. Like most English scholars, the author is competent in describing matters of organization and administration. Furthermore, he has taken more care than is usual to distinguish the policies of different imperial administrations toward Africa. The chapter on the Donatists gives an unusually clear and interesting explanation of the history and activities of the movement; the author is not on the side of those who would make it a revolutionary movement. Apparently the author did not assume the arduous duties of combing through all the African Fathers for evidence, of reading the reports of excavations in the many journals, nor of trying to achieve something like bibliographical completeness.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD, *New York University*

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## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm<sup>1</sup>

MEDIEVAL ESSAYS. By *Christopher Dawson*. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1954, pp. vii, 271, \$3.50.) Of the twelve essays in this book only four are new; the others were published some years ago, chiefly in a book entitled *Medieval Religions* (1934). The new essays are, "A Study of Christian Culture," "The Christian West and the Fall of the Empire," "The Moslem West and the Oriental Background of Later Medieval Culture," and "The Feudal Society and the Christian Epic." A Roman Catholic since 1914, Dawson was educated at Winchester and at Trinity College, Oxford. He has held lectureships at Exeter and Liverpool universities and is the author of several books dealing with religion and culture. He believes that "religion is the key of history," that Christianity inspired "a new movement of cultural activity," and that "the new vernacular literatures . . . are its living voice" (pp. 1-3). Appropriately for his theme the concluding essay is on "The Vision of Piers Plowman." Having thus linked medieval Christianity with medieval culture, the author warns us later on (p. 135) that "the ultimate criterion by which we must judge the value of a religion is not its cultural fruits but its spiritual truth." Dawson writes persuasively. His broad generalizations are based upon wide reading and deep reflection. These essays prod the reader into thought. To be sure, there is a lack of supporting data which is always a disappointment and sometimes an aggravation. Perhaps Dawson's essays are better to listen to than to read. His view of the English Reformation—"The English way diverged from the Catholic way and ran astray into the waste lands of sectarianism" (p. 270)—will not go unchallenged. Medievalists will find much in these essays that they cannot accept, but reading them is nonetheless a rewarding experience.

W. O. AULT, *Boston University*

FALCON OF SPAIN: A STUDY OF EIGHTH-CENTURY SPAIN, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS UPON THE LIFE OF THE Umayyad ruler 'ABDUR-RAHMAN I (756-788). By *Thomas Ballantine Irving*, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. (Lahore, Pakistan, Orientalia, 1954, pp. vi, 158, Rs.6.) This essentially popular biography of the founder of the Umayyad emirate of Córdoba is based largely upon the published Arabic materials, and its author, who teaches Hispanic literature at the University of Minnesota, has "tried to take the Arab point of view, because the European, especially in the attitude toward Charlemagne, is overabundant." Against the general background of Visigothic and early Muslim Spain the book describes 'Abd al-Rahman's fabulous escape from the murderous 'Abbasids in Syria; his rise to supreme power in faction-torn Andalusia; his campaigns against Muslim and Hispano-Carolingian foes; and the material and cultural revival connected with his long reign. The work displays obvious weaknesses in its overemphasis upon narrative and anecdote at the expense of institutional factors; factual errors occur, although much less frequently than the typographical ones due to a foreign press; and the bibliography,

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



although extensive, strangely omits certain indispensable titles of Lévi-Provençal, Cagigas, Sánchez-Albornoz, and other authorities. On the whole, the treatment is more objective as between Arab and European viewpoints than its author allows, although with his judgment that it falls between "the two stools of pedantry and vulgarity" [i.e., scholarship and popularization] there is no good reason to quarrel. The acceptable literature in English on Muslim Spain is however so sparse that this life has value as providing a relatively detailed introduction to one of the greatest and most interesting of the Spanish Umayyads. C. J. BISHKO, *University of Virginia*

THE HISTORY OF BUKHARA. Translated from a Persian Abridgment of the Arabic Original by Narshakhi. By *Richard N. Frye*. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication Number 61.] (Cambridge, Mass., the Academy, 1954, pp. xx, 178, \$5.00.) Narshakhi's book was written in Arabic in A.D. 943, under the Samanid dynasty. This has not survived; what we have is substantially an abridged Persian translation made in 1128, then subjected to further omissions and additions in 1178-79 and even later. In spite of these changes the surviving work presents a most interesting account of Bukhara between approximately the early seventh and the late tenth centuries. The order of treatment is unsystematic: in general the first half is a description of the architecture and institutions of the city and the surrounding region, while the second half gives a chronological narrative of the Arab conquest and rule and the rise and rule of the Samanids. Narshakhi's chronology is careless and there are elements of exaggeration and legend; nonetheless the material he presents is of great importance because he preserves a local tradition hardly represented in the classical Arabic historians. This work has been used by Barthold and others, but Professor Frye has made the first translation into a western European language. The notes are a monument of learning and industry; the translator's knowledge of Russian has given him access to recent archaeological and historical publications on Bukhara. There is an extensive bibliography. Some criticisms of detail can be made, but not such as to impair seriously the value of the work. It is only to be regretted that the volume does not contain a plan of the medieval city and a map of the region, and that Professor Frye has been unable to publish his Persian text of the *History*.

GEORGE F. HOURANI, *University of Michigan*

PAPST INNOCENZ III. By *Helene Tillmann*. [Bonner historische Forschungen, Band 3.] (Bonn, Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1954, pp. xv, 315.) As was to be expected from a diligent and appreciative student of the late Wilhelm Levison, Helene Tillmann's work on Pope Innocent III is an excellent monograph. It is very heavily documented, and the treatment evidences complete familiarity with the sources, great learning, and a maturity of judgment. While the author admires the subject of her study, she does not do so blindly. Historical objectivity is happily linked with her sympathy: she defends the pontiff's actions against misunderstandings and false interpretations, but she also censures them when she deems it necessary. The structure of the monograph is logically dictated by the various phases of the pontiff's life. Thus, the first chapter sketches the earlier life of Innocent III and the historical background at the time of his election; it also briefly describes the pontiff's writings prior to his election, which reveal his scholarly aptitude. Chapter two shows convincingly that Innocent did not entertain any extravagant ideas about his own power and that he did not aspire to a world government. In principle he advocated separation and independence of the spiritual and temporal powers, claiming repeatedly that to Caesar (the emperor) belong the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. The *plenitudo potestatis* of the papal office signifies simply the *plenitudo ecclesiasticae potes-*

*tatis*. Chapters three and four respectively portray Innocent as the dispenser of justice and the champion of the Church's liberty; Innocent is very just and legalistic in his actions. Chapter five is devoted to the political aims and achievements of Innocent III, mainly with regard to Germany, or the Empire, and Italy, especially the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Innocent, the pastor of souls and true reformer of the clergy and laity (IV Lateran Council), the defender of the faith (crusade against the Albigenses; Inquisition), the promoter of Church unity (efforts to regain the various Orthodox groups), and the sponsor of two crusades against the Mohammedans for the liberation of the Holy Land form the topics of the next four chapters. After another chapter on Innocent the man, there follows a sort of epilogue which gives history's verdict on Innocent. This appraisal is well done and well formulated. The study concludes with four appendixes and twelve extended notes in the form of addenda. Innocent III has always been regarded as a great pontiff, and this work confirms that judgment, even though the world and history have denied him the formal title of Great.

GEORGE J. UNDREINER, *Pontifical College Josephinum*

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF HOLLAND AND ZEELAND WITH ENGLAND FROM THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Nelly Johanna Martina Kerling*. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1954, pp. xviii, 252.) Still another doctoral dissertation which should not have been published without thorough revision and drastic condensation. I do not know who is to blame: the author or her advisers. Fifty-seven pages, or nearly one fourth of the whole book, are devoted to a lengthy introduction on "the political and geographical background." In reality this introduction attempts to deal with the tangled diplomacy of the local dynasties in the Netherlands, but it fails to contribute much that is either relevant or new. The story is much better told by Pirenne, Blok, or Lucas. The remainder of the book is more to the point, but the approach is traditional and places undue emphasis on the commodities of trade. Thus we learn, if we did not know it already, that the Hollanders and Zeelanders bought mainly wool and cloth from the English and sold them salt, fish, beer, and sundry other products of local or foreign origin. On the whole, the figures quoted here and there by the author leave the impression that, in the Middle Ages, the trade between England and the counties of Holland and Zeeland was unimportant if not insignificant. Forms of business organization were still primitive as compared with the level reached by the Italians. From time to time we catch a glimpse of the growing development of the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, but the author fails to emphasize the important role of the harbors of Walcheren, especially Arnemuiden, which served as the seaports of Bruges and Antwerp. One question on a small detail: since when is Lüttich the English for Liège? The bibliography shows that the author has diligently consulted the available sources directly related to her topic, but she could have profited by reading more extensively on the periphery of her subject. If so, she would have known that Tommaso Portinari was the Bruges representative of the powerful Medici bank.

RAYMOND DE ROOVER, *Boston College*

CALENDAR OF PLEA AND MEMORANDA ROLLS PRESERVED AMONG THE ARCHIVES OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON AT THE GUILDHALL, A.D. 1437-1457. Edited by *Philip E. Jones*, Deputy-Keeper of the City Records. [Printed by Order of the Corporation under the Direction of the Library Committee.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. xxviii, 229, \$4.50.) In contrast to former volumes, subjects of political and administrative interest have ceased to be recorded in these seventeen rolls surviving for this period. Entries are

now largely confined to particular types of cases and to registration of certain classes of documents. The economic historian will be especially interested in the numerous pleas on actions of debt, giving rise to foreign attachments and valuations of goods (e.g., wines, textiles, jewellery, and the stock-in-trade of an armorer or wheelwright). Among other enrollments we note reports made by the masters of the masons and carpenters on disputed boundaries, nuisances, and property rights; the parties sometimes voluntarily submitted to arbitration by these sworn viewers. The editor discusses in detail the development of the corporation's title to the common soil of streets, watercourses, and land adjacent to London Wall. The rolls served also to register such documents as writs and returns (many throw light on city customs), bonds, leases, and gifts of goods and chattels. Mr. Jones here makes a valuable addition to the discussion of gifts of goods and chattels by Dr. A. H. Thomas in Volume IV. Such gifts played an important part in the supply of credit and were also applied by lawyers as a basis for a trust. Enrollment of 2000 in this twenty-year period (327 in this volume, the remainder on the Close Rolls) shows their increasing popularity and wider scope. The use of English, frequent in Volume IV, increases. Especially early uses of English words are noted. Excellent indexes and a list of less usual words in the text complete the volume.

ELIZABETH CHAPIN FURBER, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

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# Modern European History

## BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson<sup>1</sup>

HUGH LATIMER: APOSTLE TO THE ENGLISH. By Allan G. Chester. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954, pp. x, 261, \$6.00.) Professor Chester has written a detailed and careful account of what is known about the outward life of one of the most famous of the martyrs of English Protestantism, Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, who died at the stake on October 16, 1555, condemned by the judgment of Oxford and Cambridge universities for a heretical denial of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. Chester traces the career of Latimer through its early beginnings at Cambridge to its glorious and bitter end. Even in its externals Latimer's life has its ambiguities. Beginning with opinions no more radical than those of Erasmus, he moved in thirty years to the position, not merely anti-Roman but clearly Protestant, for which he died. But the line of his development is wavering. Although that development was surely not merely the result of political pressures, there certainly seem to have been times when the rate of growth of Latimer's religious convictions was in some measure affected by the variable climate of Henry VIII's religious policy. Professor Chester makes clear how royal pressure, awareness of the avenues of preferment, very human fears and very human hopes impinged on

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

Latimer in the hectic days of Henry's breach with Rome. He also makes it clear that, despite a certain amount of backing and filling, the line of faith from which Latimer refused to retreat was itself erratically but gradually moving toward Protestantism. It is not Professor Chester's fault but his misfortune that most of Latimer's external life is either thinly documented or uninteresting, and that almost all the words wherewith the greatest of the early preachers of the English Reformation stirred men's souls before he was silenced by the Henrician reaction have been forever lost. It was not, perhaps, a wise choice on the part of the author to treat the surviving sermons so slightly and flatly that the reader gets but a faint impression of the impassioned power of Latimer's preaching or of the intensity of his religious feeling and faith. Latimer after all was one of many Englishmen who had to struggle to give theological expression to a profound and developing change in religious outlook in the midst of a difficult, dangerous, and complex political situation. He is also one of a smaller number of Englishmen who felt deeply that the religious revival should alter men's inner life sufficiently to purify and ennoble without fundamentally transforming their social relationships. It is these two aspects of Latimer's own inward life, to which he gave eloquent expression, that cause his life to make sense. It is unfortunate that Professor Chester had not the desire or the art to make these essentials emerge from and stand clear of a stultifying mass of detail.

J. H. HEXTER, *Queens College*

**WILLIAM III AND THE RESPECTABLE REVOLUTION: THE PART PLAYED BY WILLIAM OF ORANGE IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.** By *Lucile Pinkham*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 272, \$4.50.) The first marquis of Halifax once observed that the Prince of Orange "took England on his way to France." Lord Macaulay, George Trevelyan, and Sir Winston Churchill have agreed with the marquis that William invaded England rather to save Europe than win a crown. Professor Lucile Pinkham disagrees. She believes that historians have persistently misunderstood his role in the Revolution. Even more, she believes that they have made "a political myth" of the Glorious Revolution. William, she argues, invaded England to satisfy personal ambition, not to bring a rich and populous kingdom into the European coalition against France. He was not a statesman, but "a usurper" who conspired to seize the crown. To effect this he forced his leadership on the English opposition, deceived them as to his true design, obstructed conciliation between James and his subjects, and invaded England upon a "so-called invitation." Historians have also misunderstood James. Perhaps he was a tyrant, but he was a tyrant who seldom practiced duplicity, believed in liberty of conscience and advocated careers open to talent. His Tory opponents fought him chiefly to preserve "their strangle hold upon the lucrative offices of government." In describing the harsher lineaments of William's character and in underlining his eagerness to succeed to the English throne Professor Pinkham does a service to the history of the Revolution of 1688, but the value of this service is lessened by her quixotic attack upon a supposed myth. To sustain this attack she must argue that James (who kept 2000 Dissenters in prison for two years) was a sincere adherent of the doctrines of Milton and Locke; that William worked against a general peace in Europe and drove James into the French camp in order to have a pretext for seizing the throne; and that all the talk in William's camp about maintaining the laws, liberties, and religion of England was "propaganda." Yet none of these judgments is as striking as her final conclusion that the Revolution failed "to accomplish anything of lasting benefit."

CLAYTON ROBERTS, *Ohio State University*

**FABIANISM IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF BRITAIN, 1919-1931.** By *Sister M. Margaret Patricia McCarran* of the Sisters of the Holy Names. (2d ed.; Chicago, Heritage



Foundation, 1954, pp. xii, 612, \$5.00.) This is a reprint of Sister Margaret Patricia's doctoral dissertation. Based on extensive reading, it covers a wide range of topics with the theme that between 1919 and 1931 Fabian Socialism advocated statism and intended to "capture and to bring under its aegis labor, socialist thought, and international socialism." Sister Margaret Patricia concludes that "fun and games in politics supply the key to Fabianism in British political life."

THE WALKER EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC, 1711. Edited with an Introduction by *Gerald S. Graham*. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXII.] (Toronto, the Society, 1953, pp. xx, 441.) Professor Graham has put historians of the naval and colonial aspects of the War of the Spanish Succession in his debt by this thoroughly professional edition of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker's journal of the Canada expedition of 1711. The Navy Records Society has published this work simultaneously as Volume XCIV of the *Publications* of the Society, and earlier (1950) Professor Graham placed the Walker expedition against the broader background of the maritime struggle for North America in his *Empire of the North Atlantic*. In a sense the reader of this volume will be conscious of a certain sense of frustration in view of the unmitigated failure of the naval enterprise it chronicles. In bare summary the Walker expedition amounted to this: the fleet sailed from Plymouth in early May, 1711; it arrived at Boston in late June; it sailed from Boston July 30; it suffered the loss of seven transports and 884 lives near Ile aux Oeufs in the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the night of August 23-24; at a council of war off Newfoundland on September 8, the decision was made to return to Great Britain, where, at Plymouth, Admiral Walker struck his flag "in the Night" and went ashore. For this dispiriting lack of achievement the editor can, of course, bear no responsibility, and indeed, as Professor Graham points out in the *Empire of the North Atlantic* (pp. 101-102) the expedition had real significance in the sense that it is a transitional point in a British policy which had hitherto been almost wholly European to one which emphasized colonial and New World interests. The Walker journal has real flavor. The prose is rough and straightforward, but it carries the authentic ring of the sea, and the account of the navigation of Sable Island, "the Land of Accadia" and the mighty River of Canada recreate in a singularly stirring fashion the perils and uncertainties of naval operations in the North Atlantic in the early years of the eighteenth century.

GERALD S. BROWN, *University of Michigan*

THE WELLAND CANAL COMPANY: A STUDY IN CANADIAN ENTERPRISE.

By *Hugh G. J. Aitken*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. xii, 178, \$3.50.) Mr. Aitken, a member of the staff of the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University and editor of the center's journal, modestly professes to be only a journeyman historian. He is that no longer, for he has now produced a *Meisterstück* on the private company that promoted and constructed the Welland Canal. His scholarship is impressive but not in the least oppressive, and his literary style is impeccable. The opening chapter, "Upper Canada: The Inland Province," presents a penetrating analysis of the circumstances in which the project of a canal across the Niagara peninsula was conceived. The most serious flaw I can find in it is an inconsequential misstatement of fact, which places the principal settlement of the Upper Canadian Loyalists along the north shore of Lake Ontario and in the Niagara district instead of where it actually was, along the upper St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinte. Though the Welland Canal was a Canadian answer to the Erie Canal, and the Upper Canadian charter of the company confined membership in the board of directors to residents of that province, the company sold more stock to individuals in the state of New York than in the two Canadas and England combined, which should

cause some revision of the traditional Canadian estimate of the prime promoter, William Hamilton Merritt. From almost the beginning the company had to lean heavily upon the financial support of the provincial government, which could not afford to let such an important public project fail; and the public control of the "private" enterprise grew until the company, twenty years after its organization, had to sell out to the government. The final chapter, in which the author passes judgment on the whole business, is most illuminating.

A. L. BURT, *University of Minnesota*

**SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHIVAL RECORDS.** Published under the supervision of the Archives Commission by the Publication Section of the Archives of the Union of South Africa, by order of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. TRANSVAAL, No. 5. (Cape Town, Government Printer, [1954], pp. xxxi, 472.) This most recent of the published Transvaal archives covers the troubled years 1864-1866, when the new South African Republic labored under the difficulties of an empty treasury, native wars, indifference to its authority, and the vaulting ambitions of President M. W. Pretorius. The arrangement of the material lends itself to easy utilization. The Volksraad journals are followed by a section of pertinent papers arranged by years and with a further subdivision into incoming-outgoing correspondence, ordinances and laws, and miscellaneous items. The editorial work has been meticulous in providing cross-footnotes wherever possible and has given easy entrance into the documents by three indexes of persons, places, and subjects. The material reveals the Volksraad as the ultimate power in government, whose lack of civil servants often required the legislature to perform administrative duties. The devotion of the Volksraad secretaries and particularly of the state secretary was extraordinary. Without much salary, usually in arrears, these officials were men of all work. Their concern was great about the war between the Basuto of Moshesh and the Orange Free State, with whom relations were delicate following the abortive unification effort of Pretorius. Their lack of official power is revealed in a frantic order in 1866 to the attorney-general to enforce the republic's law against slavery after a particularly flagrant violation had caused an irate citizen to complain to the British high commissioner in Cape Town (pp. 449-51). The provision in the 1866 education law for the teaching of Hollands and English stands mutely against the evidence contained in letters from field cornets and frontier magistrates of the infiltration of the Taal into the written language. Above all, the material at numerous points shows the rising power of Paul Kruger, who was the only real reason why Pretorius remained in office. Quite properly the current volume closes with a letter from Kruger, now commandant general, to the president as a portent for the future.

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

**THE HENTYS: AN AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL TAPESTRY.** By *Marnie Bassett*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 578, £3.3s.) Family history! A venture often resulting in ruin for an admirable family by the hand of its biographer. Skillful research has resulted in a thoroughly documented, scholarly account, emphasizing high adventure, the fortitude and cultural attainments of the Henty family, well known in Australian history as pioneers in western Australia, Tasmania, and Victoria. Mrs. Bassett's volume does not belong in that dreary procession of family catalogues preserving preposterous or wearisome trivia. The opening chapters reveal how early nineteenth-century British interest in Australia was related to the Merino breeders of Sussex, the Napoleonic wars, the royal family, and maritime enterprises. The migration of Thomas Henty, his wife, daughter, and seven sons to Swan River ended in disillusionment, a move to Launceston, and eventually to Portland Bay. The

three brothers remaining in Tasmania achieved leadership in merchandising, banking, and politics. In the Port Phillip district, the others prospered in whaling, grazing, and woolgrowing (the original aim of the family when emigrating). Mrs. Bassett presents a clearly documented account of the decade of struggle between the Hentys and the governor over the establishment of land rights, culminating in an unhappy compromise. The volume is enriched by extracts from letters, diaries, official papers, as well as helpful explanatory footnotes. The bibliography is excellent, with archives listed for more important manuscripts. Reproductions of contemporary paintings and prints are featured in the wide range of illustrations. A genealogical chart and three maps are included. The historian of nineteenth-century United States will be interested in this study with its familiar tale of the educated settler in a new land, often at cross-purposes with the authorities—his steady toil—his love, family, the new home in the wilderness—his neighbors, people of all walks of life: convicts, governors, explorers, settlers in town or in the bush—his failures and his triumphs.

J. A. GREENLEE, *Iowa State College*

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## FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop<sup>1</sup>

AN INTRODUCTION TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE. By John Lough, Professor of French in the Durham Colleges, University of Durham. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. xxiii, 291, \$3.75.) This book is designed for students of French who are just beginning to study the literature of the seventeenth century. Its aim is "to depict the main social and political developments of the age and the setting in which so many varied masterpieces were produced." The first four chapters are devoted to a description of the social and economic conditions of the peasants, the

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



inhabitants of the towns, the nobility, and the clergy, and three more deal with internal political and constitutional history. The author makes no pretense that these seven chapters are based on original research but rather presents them as a synthesis of the best recent historical scholarship. Professor Lough makes several significant contributions in the two remaining chapters, which deal with such subjects as the financial status of the writers, the social position of their public, the development of language. Here he argues convincingly that the bourgeoisie and even the robe, who are so often depicted as the intellectual superiors of the nobility, took little interest in the literature of their day. It was to the aristocracy, especially that at the court, that the writers had to cater. For this reason middle-class authors, though often treated contemptuously by the aristocracy, were in their works only too willing to ignore or make fun of the aspirations of their class. We should not, however, fall into the error of overestimating the cultivation of the upper nobility, for literary interest was lacking on their part also at the beginning of the century and developed only with the establishment of the court at Versailles and the growing popularity of the salons. This well-written book should prove invaluable for students of seventeenth-century French literature. The seven chapters on the social and political background of the period are the best synthesis to be found in English and the remaining sections contain useful information not readily available elsewhere. The specialized interests of the author does place some limitations on the desirability to use the book as a text for history students. The writings of the jurists, theologians, scientists, and historians of the period are ignored. The excellently chosen quotations that abound in the book are left in French which, though quite justifiable for the language student, is apt to prove disconcerting to the average American history major. Fifty-four carefully selected illustrations and five maps and diagrams add further to an already excellent book.

J. RUSSELL MAJOR, *Emory University*

ESPRIT DE SAINT-SIMON: LA MORT DE VATEL. By *Corrado Fatta*. (Paris, Corrêa, 1954, pp. 243, 660 fr.) Sainte-Beuve in an essay on the duc de Saint-Simon distinguished two types of historiography, that based on "diplomatic papers, the correspondence of ambassadors, military reports, and original documents," and another, represented by the *Mémoires*, less concerned with factual accuracy than with the restoration of the spirit of an age. It is the latter which for Fatta signifies valid historiography; history is constituted not by events and personalities but by the creative intuition of historians, which differs in every epoch (pp. 9 f.). Therefore, this book is a study of the spirit of Saint-Simon as a representative of an age, rather than a biography and is concerned only secondarily with the traditional methods of scholarship (p. 18). For the technical historian the book has limited value; there is little new in its discussion of the political structure of France under Louis XIV or in the appraisal of Saint-Simon as a man and artist. What is to be found to a greater extent than in other studies (Sainte-Beuve, Doumic) is a more extensive, but unfortunately virtually undocumented, analysis of the duke's political philosophy. There emerges the familiar image of Saint-Simon the traditionalist, the defender of the ideal of an aristocratic constitution against the absolutist centralism of Louis XIV, and the author, as member of the Regency Council, of proposals for administrative reform which he hoped would restore everyone to his "natural situation" (p. 113). From this Fatta draws interesting, but not entirely convincing, conclusions, that Saint-Simon was not a "reactionary" (pp. 116 f.), or even basically an aristocratic conservative, but with his critique of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, his defense of inviolability of the mails, his demand for greater economic freedom, his constitutionalism, and his cosmopolitanism, was in a sense the forerunner of later moderate "liberals," such as

Montesquieu and Mirabeau (p. 117), and at the end of Louis XIV's reign "represented an advanced spirit, pointing toward a future of reforms, the spokesman of a great liberal hope . . ." (p. 166).

GEORG G. IGGERS, *Philander Smith College*

THE QUESTION OF JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU. By *Ernst Cassirer*. Translated and Edited with an Introduction and Additional Notes by *Peter Gay*, Assistant Professor of Government, Columbia University. [Columbia Bicentennial Editions and Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 129, \$2.75.) Rousseau figured prominently in Cassirer's *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1951, German edition, 1932), and of course in his *Rousseau, Kant, Goethe* (Princeton, 1945). His conclusions concerning Rousseau, however, were presented in systematic and complete form only in a lengthy essay published in 1932 in Germany. It is this essay which is now presented in translation. The "question" of Jean-Jacques Rousseau is the perennial problem of reconciling—admitted paradoxes aside—the seeming inconsistencies of his diverse works, notably the individualism of the *Discourses* as against the authoritarianism of the *Social Contract*. Cassirer's answer to the question is similar to the answers of Gustave Lanson and E. H. Wright. He finds a basic unity in Rousseau's conception of man as a creature born with a potentiality for good, who has been made bad by a bad society, but for whom there is the possibility of the good life in the "freedom" (Cassirer admits problems here) offered in an ethically justified society based on the general will. Thus Rousseau criticized existing society, described an ideal method of educating a child outside that society, and outlined the political system of a new kind of social order in which the individual would freely submit to the necessity of nonarbitrary law. As elsewhere, Cassirer in this essay emphasizes the Kantian elements in Rousseau's thought. This little study is a stimulating contribution to the literature on Rousseau, and to the history of ideas. It is also a useful example of the way in which history and philosophy, biography and ideas, may be fruitfully combined in this field. The introduction by Professor Gay is an essay in itself, in part a bibliographical study of prior interpretations, in part a welcome exegesis of Cassirer's more subtle concepts, in part a shrewd rethinking of some of the practical implications of Rousseau's theory.

GORDON H. McNEIL, *University of Arkansas*

LE FONCTIONNEMENT DU CONSEIL D'ETAT NAPOLEONIEN. By *Charles Durand*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit d'Aix. [Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille, Série 1, Droit-Lettres 7.] (Gap, Hautes-Alpes, Imprimerie Louis-Jean, 1954, pp. 302.) This volume is the second in a series of three which, when completed, will be an exhaustive study of Napoleon's Council of State. The membership, organization, and powers of the council were discussed in the first volume, *Etudes sur le Conseil d'Etat napoléonien*, published in 1949. The present volume describes the functioning of the council—the conduct of meetings, steps in initiating legislation, the procedure followed in hearing administrative appeals, the methods used in supervising the ministers, and, most important of all, the relationship between the council and Napoleon. The account is carried to the first abdication. The council during the Hundred Days will be the subject of the final volume. So detailed and sound a study is a real achievement in view of the fact that the conciliar archives were burned during the uprising of 1871. Despite this lack, Durand has produced a work that is valuable not only for the specialist but for everyone interested in the subtle methods of dictatorship. For the chief interest of the work lies in the relation of Napoleon to the council, which, as his consultative body, was to furnish him with different points of view. How much independence of thought he allowed the councillors, how he handled adverse criticism are

the subjects of such provocative chapters as those on freedom of speech and differences of opinion. The council itself is treated with profound understanding and sympathy. Its truly impressive achievements are emphasized as are its less known services to France, the quashing of unwise measures. The councillors failed to gain the immortality and glory Napoleon promised them, but here they are accorded an appreciation for Herculean labors performed in the oppressive atmosphere of tyranny.

RUTH FRIEDRICH, *Washburn University*

UN JOURNAL D'OUVRIERS: "L'ATELIER" (1840-1850). By *Armand Cuvillier*. Preface by C. Bouglé. [Collection "Masses et Militants."] (Paris, Editions Ouvrières, 1954, pp. 221, 550 fr.) Six years ago Armand Cuvillier published a study of the almost forgotten figure who was chiefly responsible for the monumental *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* and who, as "a great intermediary," strove to reconcile the tradition of Jacobin democracy with the social doctrines of the Saint-Simonians and the moral and religious teachings of Catholicism: P.-B. Buchez et les origines du Socialisme Chrétien. This study has now been complemented by a new edition of the lucid and scholarly monograph which M. Cuvillier devoted, forty years ago, to the *Atelier*, the newspaper founded in "the year of strikes," 1840, by workingmen who had absorbed Buchez' teachings. The heart of this work is an analysis of the point of view to which the pages of the *Atelier* gave expression; its frame, a history of the *Atelier* considered both as an enterprise in purely working-class journalism and as an agent of political and social action. The workingmen-writers of the *Atelier* were reformers rather than revolutionaries; republicans who considered patriotism "the first of the revolutionary virtues"; democrats who ascribed precedence to the achievement of political democracy, yet in the faith that social democracy would follow; Catholics who were theocratic in their assertion of the religious basis of civil society but reformist in their demand that Catholicism realize its democratic essence; moralists who offered the workers the primacy of moral reform over material advantage and demanded of them self-sacrifice, abstinence, and devotion; and, though increasingly distrustful of the state, socialists in their critique of capitalism and in their advocacy of producers' co-operatives "as the great means of freeing the workers from the domination of management, as the equivalent in the economic order of democracy in the political." Given this position, it is not surprising that the *Atelier* and its most prominent figure, Anthime Corbon, moved rapidly toward the center of the political stage late in February, 1848, only to be outdistanced shortly by events. Supported by conservatives who saw in their opposition to violence and in their respect for family, religion, and private property a barrier against the greater evil which they feared in Louis Blanc, they lost their working-class support; and when, in June, they mourned the bloody triumph of the reactionaries whose cause they had endorsed, they in turn were jettisoned by their middle-class allies. But for his sympathy for the men of the *Atelier*, M. Cuvillier might have inferred that the failure of social democracy in 1848 was at least in part the responsibility of democratic idealists among the workers themselves.

SCOTT H. LYTLE, *University of Washington*

LA DROITE EN FRANCE DE 1815 A NOS JOURS: CONTINUITÉ ET DIVERSITÉ D'UNE TRADITION POLITIQUE. By *René Rémond*, Maître de Conférences à l'Institut d'Etudes politiques. [Collection historique, sous la direction de Paul Lemerle.] (Paris, Aubier, 1954, pp. 323, 690 fr.) M. Rémond's lucid and stimulating essay is a notable addition to the literature on modern France. It is especially welcome because right-wing doctrines and political movements have had rather cursory

treatment from historians. Since the 1870's, a fundamental axiom of French politics has been that the future lies to the Left. Now it begins to seem that the axiom may no longer hold. As M. Rémond points out, the Right is stronger today than at any time since the first years of the Third Republic. It is therefore high time for a fresh analysis of the character and aims of the right wing, in an effort to determine the content and the significance of this political tradition. M. Rémond rejects the rather common thesis that Right and Left have become outmoded and meaningless terms. He is aware that the line of division resembles quicksilver more than steel; but he insists that a recognizable line does exist. He argues, however, that François Goguel's concept of the Right as the "party of the established order" does not adequately explain the complex nature of the Rightist tradition. The Right has never been monolithic; it is characterized by diversity as much as by continuity. At almost every stage of French history since 1815, Rémond isolates three distinct right-wing traditions: the traditionalist, the liberal, and the authoritarian. Labels change, doctrines evolve, and from time to time the three currents seem about to converge into one. Yet the differences go so deep that real fusion never succeeds. In each generation the three strands reappear, altered in some important respects, but each one still possessed of a clearly distinguishable heritage. No brief review can do justice to a book so rich in provocative insights and suggestions. Of special interest to this reviewer were M. Rémond's analyses of the social structure and doctrine of Orleanism; of the novel character of Bonapartism, with its appeal to the more dynamic segments of French society and to the egalitarian spirit of the peasantry; of the emergence after 1880 of a nationalistic Right—urban, emotional, and violent; of Maurras' curious attempt to merge the three Rights; of fascism's failure to take root in France; of the reasons—sociological and otherwise—for the recent revival of right-wing strength. Clear, judicious, and accurate, M. Rémond's book is in the best tradition of French historical scholarship. And unlike so many books in that tradition, it has an index.

GORDON WRIGHT, *University of Oregon*

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C. J. Bishko

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## THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke<sup>1</sup>

AMBASSADORS AND SECRET AGENTS: THE DIPLOMACY OF THE FIRST EARL OF MALMESBURY AT THE HAGUE. By *Alfred Cobban*. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1954, pp. 255, 21s.) Alfred Cobban, newly appointed professor of French history at the University of London, warns against the "danger of writing diplomatic history exclusively from the records of a single Foreign Office" (p. 15), and by an extensive use of official and unofficial papers, printed memoirs and correspondence, has brought forth a most penetrating study of British foreign policy at the Hague from 1784 to 1788. Some American diplomatic historians would do well to heed his warning. Professor Cobban lays great stress on personal dispatches and correspondence, for, "The nearer we get to the actual events the more decisive does the action of the individual appear. The great impersonal forces which seem to determine the course of history when it is treated on the scale of text-book generalizations, somehow becomes more nebulous the closer one approaches the facts, and the role of the actual individuals or groups influencing or determining policy becomes more decisive" (p. 208). An attempt to discover what happened to the secret service money expended by the Younger Pitt "plunged" the author "straight into the whirlpool of international politics . . . between 1784 and 1788" (p. 15), as England and France struggled for the diplomatic control of the United Provinces. Step by step the efforts of Sir James Harris, British minister to the Hague, are followed as he labors to detach the United Provinces from a French alliance. His efforts are identified with the party backing the Stadtholder, William IV, in his struggle against the burgher oligarchy, the Patriots. Cleverly the Patriot movement is placed by the author in its proper European perspective as England and France battle to control the Dutch factions. In tracing Harris' diplomacy, which eventually made him the first earl of Malmesbury, Professor Cobban is often amusing and always highly informative. His analysis of the French foreign ministry is excellent, and in it he puts to bed many glib generalizations about Vergennes and the administration of French diplomacy. Backed by Prussian troops and aided by English money, Harris was able to restore the House of Orange, but the restoration was short-lived and destined to be swept away by the French Revolution. Yet as Professor Cobban so aptly points out: "Because it survived the crises of 1782 the house of Orange could be brought back in 1813, to provide a bridge between the constitutional traditions of the United Provinces and the new constitutional monarchy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands" (p. 214). In view of the highly controversial nature of the *Patriottentijd*, Professor Cobban would have done well to have consulted Dutch archival materials. It is very unlikely that the dispatches of the Dutch ministers at London, Paris, or Berlin would have appreciably changed any of Professor Cobban's conclusions, yet use of them would have spared him from the charge of writing history from the viewpoint of two nations where three and four are involved, a charge which Professor Cobban in his introduction anticipates. Such criticisms are in no way intended to belittle what is a superb study of diplomacy. Professor Cobban has made a contribution to our knowledge of diplomatic history.

JOHN J. MURRAY, *Coe College*

- J. SAKS, LITERATOR EN MARXIST: EEN POLITIEKE BIOGRAFIE. By *Fr. de Jong Edz.* (Amsterdam, De Arbeiderspers, 1954, pp. xiv, 298, F. 14.50.) Though the author apparently meant this dissertation to fulfill in part the need for more satisfy-

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

ing biographies of leading figures of the early Dutch socialist movement, he failed to do so on two accounts. Firstly, Dr. de Jong, who asserts that both communism and socialism owe a great debt to Saks, has grossly exaggerated the latter's historical importance. J. Saks (pseudonym of Pieter Wiedijk, 1867-1938), far from being a leading figure, was an eccentric intellectual not in touch with the realities of political life. Because of his shy personality and his faithful following of foreign Marxists, he lacked the qualities required for playing a prominent role in politics or leaving a mark on the intellectual development of Dutch socialism. Secondly, and this is most unfortunate, the author has, by resorting to the doctrine of dialectical materialism in interpreting Saks's private and public life, fallen short of the necessary clarity and objectivity. A reader not in sympathy with Marxian philosophy will look in vain for satisfying answers to such basic questions as why an intellectual like Saks became a Marxist, to what extent his Marxism limited his insight in political or social forces, or what role he played in the society of his time. On the positive side, it should be noted that Dr. de Jong has been the first one to study Saks's personal papers kept at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, and, in addition, has taken pains to obtain information from the surviving participants in the feuds between the socialist splinter-groups in the beginning of the twentieth century; using these carefully collected data he has succeeded in giving us a vivid image of Saks's complex character. The author also deserves credit for his efforts to rehabilitate Saks's remarkable talents as polemicist and historian; the most lasting expression of this unconventional personality is, so it seems, to be found in his literary work rather than in his political activity.

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes<sup>1</sup>

FREDEN I KIEL 1814. By Georg Nørregård. (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1954, pp. 279, Dan. kr. 22.50.) When Bernadotte detached Norway from Denmark and united it with Sweden the process was painfully involved. The new Swedish crown prince got Tsar Alexander to pledge Norway as compensation for Swedish participation in the final coalition against Napoleon, and Britain and Prussia made similar guarantees. Austria held aloof, and maneuvered to the last to avert or diminish the northern territorial transfer. Alexander remained loyal to his word, but Carl Johan (Bernadotte) had ample grounds for suspicion of his allies, to whom the cession became increasingly unpalatable. The rising national spirit and the opposition to Napoleonic ruthlessness helped to create a new conscience toward the transfer of peoples and territories. Antagonism toward Carl Johan increased as he played his ultra-cautious game and displayed a blend of the morality of the Old Regime and the unfettered opportunism of the Revolution. Those who enjoyed the security of legiti-

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

macy had little sympathy for the insecurity of the parvenu prince. The obstinacy of the Danish court, the machinations of Metternich, the stubborn shrewdness of Carl Johan, all interwoven with the delicate interrelations of the Great Powers, deserve this careful narrative covering the period from the summer of 1813 to the summer of 1814 and based largely on archival research. Dr. Nørregård adds nothing startlingly new, though he has gone a little further than precursors in the same field. Now the details of diplomacy are sufficiently clear; the next step requires interpretation—for instance, how conscious were the Austrians that in supporting Denmark they might help to contain Prussia? The concluding chapter is a good but very brief summary on personalities and the national effects of the treaty of Kiel. It was a turning point in the history of the North marked by the weakening of Denmark, the stimulus to a fruitful national resurgence in Norway, and the Swedish renunciation of Finland and withdrawal from Continental embroilments. Whether these developments and the later independence of Norway produced the feebleness and tragedy of Scandinavia in 1940, however, may be too long a leap for logic. In any case the story centering in the treaty of Kiel is a “saga of desire and doubt, of cunning and mistrust, of fear and daring, but above all of human insecurity” (p. 254).

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THE MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL MANNERHEIM. Translated by Count *Eric Lewenhaupt*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1954, pp. 540, \$6.75.) This American edition of Mannerheim's memoirs represents a considerable and no doubt inevitable, if not always judicious, abridgment of the original work published in 1951. Only a frontispiece photograph and 5 maps, for example, remain of the 260 illustrations and 31 maps that appeared in the two-volume, 1007-page Finnish edition. More serious is the too-frequent condensation and outright omission (without proper indication) of important documents, letters, and public statements. In literary style the translation is beyond reproach. The self-penned military and political record of Finland's national hero has, of course, inestimable value, especially to historians. On the debit side, the account reveals not only an occasional lapse of memory but a disposition to rewrite the record to the marshal's advantage. Indeed, a leading Swedish critic was prompted to comment, “Just like another war leader and writer of memoirs, Julius Caesar, Mannerheim has revised his materials. . . . Like Caesar he proceeded on the assumption that he committed no mistakes.” There is, fortunately, a sizable and swelling body of published materials for checking the more debatable of Mannerheim's allegations. In the military field are the studies of Y. A. Järvinen, Harald Öhquist, Walde-mar Erfurth, Eero Kuussaari, and Vilho Niitemaa, and especially the “Suomen sota 1941–1944” series being published by the Finnish Military History Research Institute. In the more controversial arena of political decisions the historian has available the contributions of Väinö Tanner, Juho Niukkanen, Toivo Kaila, C. O. Frietsch, Wipert v. Blücher, and others. The manner in which the marshal's memoirs were composed, it might be added, is the subject of an interesting article by Emerik Olsoni to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Svensk Tidskrift*. Mannerheim clearly intended his memoirs to serve as a political testament to the Finnish people. As a consequence they shed virtually no light on his personality, his family life, his immediate surroundings. Future biographers (the most popular of present biographies is Anni Voipio's worshipful *Suomen marsalkka*, first published in 1943; as far as this reviewer knows, no new studies are in progress) face the difficult and painful, yet inescapable job of discovering amidst the extensive mythology the human dimensions of Mannerheim. The Mannerheim papers, it might be said in conclusion, are presently housed in the Mannerheim museum at Helsinki. They are open to qualified scholars,

but according to reports are not as rich and comprehensive as might have been anticipated.

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner<sup>1</sup>

DIE DEUTSCHKONSERVATIVE PARTEI: PREUSSISCHER CHARAKTER, REICHAUFFASSUNG, NATIONALBEGRIFF. By *Hans Booms*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 3.] (Düsseldorf, Droste, 1954, pp. 136, DM 11.80.) It is the purpose of this monograph to establish the overwhelmingly Prussian character of the supposedly national German Conservative party. This the author does thoroughly and convincingly in a series of variations on the theme of the Prussian-agrarian outlook of the DKP from the time of its founding in 1876 through the last struggles in 1918. In all this, however, there is nothing new. The Prussian and agrarian character of the DKP has long been an axiom of German political history. No one now is inclined to doubt that the limited outlook and following of the DKP, that its close dependence on the spirit and institutions of Hohenzollern-Prussia brought its downfall in 1918 when the monarchy came to an end, or to doubt that this also effectively prevented its independent re-emergence on the postwar republican political scene. No unpublished and no otherwise unavailable material has been used in this work. But by consulting the literature, and particularly by poring through the parliamentary debates of the Reichstag and Prussian house, the author is

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

able to provide a summary of the principal positions of the DKP on important questions of public policy. There is no attempt to fathom the inner struggles of the party, or to distinguish the interests of individuals, groups, and factions. Still for what it is the study is useful, if only for the extensive quotations on almost every page. The interpretation and analysis of the author are usually sound, although not particularly imaginative nor daring in application. One may question an approach, however, that chooses to measure the soundness of the national feeling of the conservatives against the yardstick of their attitude toward pan-German nationalism. Yet that is what Dr. Booms at one point attempts to do in proceeding to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the Conservative party's concern for the Reich in the light of its general coolness toward the Pan-German League. It seems extraordinary for a scholar to use precisely that ultranationalistic group to test the patriotism of the Prussian conservatives without supplying some special justification for his selection. Much of the lack of balance in this work is of course inherent in the monograph form. The history of the German Conservative party in the empire remains to be written. For a quick sketch one can still best turn to Ludwig Bergsträsser's *Geschichte der politischen Parteien in Deutschland* (7th ed., Munich, 1952), and for details to Count Westarp's partial but reliable two volumes, *Konservative Politik im letzten Jahrzehnt des Kaiserreiches* (Berlin, 1935). The present work is without index. LEWIS HERTZMAN, *Harvard University*

KRONPRINZ WILHELM: SEINE ROLLE IN DER DEUTSCHEN POLITIK. By Paul Herre. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1954. pp. xii, 280, DM 15.) There is a deplorable dearth of authoritative studies on many of the men who directed Germany's course during the past fifty years. It is an important event, therefore, when a notable German historian devotes a book to one of the more controversial, even though less significant, figures of that period. As the subtitle suggests, its emphasis is on the crown prince's political role, with only brief references to his military activities. Since the book is not intended as a biography, it gives a minimum of personal detail and makes only the briefest mention of the crown prince's "privates Sicheausleben," as Professor Herre tactfully calls it. The first and shortest part covers the years before 1914. It shows young William growing up in the shadow of his father, where he remained through most of his life. Yet at the same time, his essentially modern outlook, his level-headedness, tolerance, modesty, and unconventionality, made him one of the most persistent critics of the Wilhelminian system. Its chief weakness he saw in the official barriers, notably the "cabinet system," with which the kaiser surrounded himself. It was not until the World War that the crown prince was able to make some of his contrary views prevail. The second and major portion of the book deals with these most influential years of his career. It traces in detail his part in the "resignation" of Bethmann-Hollweg, the July crisis of 1917, and the dismissal of Valentini. In addition, it shows how the crown prince's superficiality sometimes made him subject to outside suggestions, resulting in many sudden changes of front (notably on the issue of a moderate negotiated peace). His character, in other words, was more complex and contradictory than has usually been assumed. The third and last section of the book describes the years of exile in Holland, his return and life as a private citizen under the Weimar Republic, his growing infatuation and subsequent disillusionment with Hitler, and the concluding years of relative impoverishment after the Second World War. The book is carefully documented, mainly from published sources, except for the World War years, for which the author had access to the crown prince's private papers. It is written with restraint and objectivity; and while one might disagree with some minor points, the picture it presents of the crown prince appears true and convincing. HANS W. GATZKE, *Johns Hopkins University*

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Charles Morley

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## Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer<sup>1</sup>

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE CHANGE OF DYNASTY IN GREECE, 1862-1863. By *Eleutherios Prevelakis*. (Athens, Greece, the Author, 48B Mitropoleos St., 1953, pp. 194, \$1.75.) This monograph is the definitive study of British policy concerning the accession of the Danish Glücksburg dynasty of Greece in 1863. The author prepared the study at Oxford under the direction of the late Professor Benedict Humphrey Sumner. He has utilized competently all available archival and published materials in both Britain and Greece. After analyzing the factors and events leading to the revolution of October 16, 1862, which unseated the preceding Bavarian dynasty the author devotes most of his study to describing in detail the frantic search for a new ruler acceptable to the various Great Powers. This proved to be an almost impossible task, and Palmerston was at his wit's end when he recalled "Prince (whatever his name is) of Denmark." Queen Victoria thought poorly of the proposal—"poor foolish boy Willy"—"a good but not overbright and very plain youth" (pp. 133-34). But the fact remained that he was the last resort. So "Willy" arrived in Athens on

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

October 30, 1863, as George I, king of the Hellenes. Today his dynasty is the only royal house reigning in the Balkans. L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

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## Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

*Hilary Conroy*<sup>1</sup>

WESTERN ENTERPRISE IN FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: CHINA AND JAPAN. By *G. C. Allen*, Professor of Political Economy in the University of London, and *Audrey G. Donnithorne*, Lecturer in Political Economy, University College, London. [Published in Co-operation with the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1954, pp. 292, \$4.50.) This excellent exploratory study could almost have been called, for China at least, the rise and decline of Western economic enterprise. Covering the period from the mid-nineteenth-century opening of China and Japan until 1952, it aims to describe: the beginning of Western economic enterprise in China and Japan, the local conditions which determined the character of that enterprise, the relationship of Western activities to the changing Chinese and Japanese economies, and finally, the effect of Western impact upon the industrial, financial, and commercial life of the two countries. The authors point out that westerners were primarily traders at the beginning, but they were forced to become engaged in other forms of economic enterprise, such as banking, insurance, shipping, and manufacturing, because there were so few Chinese who had the interest, the training, or even their government's approval and aid. This was less true in Japan, where government and individuals showed more initiative in acquiring the economic techniques of the West. In both countries, when the nationals did learn to take over varied enterprises, foreigners would pioneer in new ventures. It was not until the second quarter of the present century in China that there was a pronounced tendency (even before Communist rule) for government to play a more active role, even to the extent of establishing monopolies over some enterprises. Since 1950 there has been a consequent edging out of the foreigner in China, whereas in Japan he has had increased opportunities since the end of the war. The authors limit their subject and admit that their study is incomplete, for it is not based on Chinese or Japanese language sources nor has it made complete use of materials in Western languages. However, it breaks fresh ground and scholars will look forward to a promised monograph on the same subject covering Malaya and Indonesia.

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JAPAN AND AMERICA: FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By *Lawrence H. Battistini*. (New York, John Day, 1954, pp. x, 198, \$3.00.) This work is essentially a survey of diplomatic relations between America and Japan by one who seems honestly anxious for their betterment. The author, a former official of the Allied occupation government in Japan, has had an opportunity to view at close range the most recent episodes in this history. Unfortunately, this firsthand experience is cut to the minimum by the effort to cover at a constant depth the entire hundred-odd years of United States-Japanese relations. The story, written exclusively from English language sources, has been told carefully and with a certain admirable fairness especially in its treatment of such controversial subjects as the Yalta Agreement, General MacArthur, and the occupation-inspired reforms in Japan. On the whole, however, the work does scanty justice to the subject embraced by its weighty title. Japanese-American relations have too often been plotted only on the chart of diplomatic affairs. And while Americans may be resigned to having their foreign affairs depicted in terms of notes,

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

conferences, and treaties, it must be argued that the screen of diplomatic paraphernalia has had much to do with their failure to understand the real forces operating in the world beyond their shores. In this day when we have had the unprecedented opportunity of intimate association with Japan, her people, and her problems, may we not expect to find a greater penetration beneath the impersonal and almost unreal world of diplomacy? The story of Japan and America is one of wide dimensions. Fundamentally it involves the process of the clash and fusion of cultures, the conflicting aspirations of new and growing nations, and the struggle of potent political isms. Such subjects are hardly touched on in this treatment, which devotes nine pages to the Perry diplomacy, a brief page to the Meiji Restoration, and a single paragraph to inform the reader that Japan in 1931 was coming under militarist control. This is a work which the specialist will find too general for his use. The general reader may find it a helpful guide to diplomatic events but he will remain unenlightened as to the deep political, cultural, and intellectual forces operating behind such events.

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Cecil Hobbs

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## United States History

Wood Gray<sup>1</sup>

## GENERAL

THE WRITING OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Michael Kraus*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, pp. x, 387, \$5.50.) This volume is a revision of Professor Kraus's *History of American History*, first published in 1937. The original work was useful. It was the first full-length study of the development of American history and supplied a helpful factual framework at a time when historians in the United States were beginning to be aware of the problems of their historiography. It is more difficult to perceive the utility of the revision. The new edition has incorporated into its narrative some of the results of more recent research and has brought some trends up to date. But the point of view and approach are essentially unchanged, and today's student will learn little from the book. The first ten chapters, dealing with the period to about 1880 are basically chronological, although the chapter titles lend them an appearance of thematic unity they do not really possess. The last five chapters are devoted to the years since 1880, and the treatment is topical. But the choice of subjects and their categorization is essentially capricious. It is often difficult to see why the figures treated should find their way into one chapter rather than another, why Samuel E. Morison, for instance, should be discussed with the frontier and sectional historians. The method of Professor Kraus's work is simple. The book contains a series of factual accounts of the lives of successive historians. These are carefully done and generally accurate, but they fail to deal at any depth with the writings of the men in question. The result is a volume free from important errors of detail, but one which fails to recognize the significant questions of interpretation, much less answer them. Two important problems illustrate the perplexities of a modern reader who wishes to use the book. Professor Kraus is altogether noncritical; every historian of the past was good for his times. Such eclecticism enables Professor Kraus to write as if he were uncommitted and a partisan of no school. But it leaves him in an ambiguous

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

position when he confronts opposing inclinations in a single period, and it deprives him of any standard of intrinsic judgment. More important, the author does not treat the history of history as if it were related to the history of ideas. There is no effort to examine the preconceptions and assumptions of the historians or to analyze the basic ideas embodied in their writings. Instead American history is described entirely as if it consisted of a series of incidents in the lives of the men who wrote about it. Not many now will find such a summary useful.

OSCAR HANDLIN, *Harvard University*

THE WORLD'S RIM: GREAT MYSTERIES OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. By *Hartley Burr Alexander*. With a Foreword by Clyde Kluckhohn. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1953, pp. xx, 259, \$4.75.) This book deals with the description and analysis of a number of religious rituals found among various American Indian tribes. The presentation is vivid and should attract readers who would not plod through the dull monographs on which the book is based. Although the treatment of the factual data is somewhat romanticized, no errata were uncovered of a factual nature. The reviewer was disturbed, however, by the impressionistic evaluations of ritual symbolism which occur throughout the book. Occasionally these evaluations are attributed to the individual who collected the raw data, or to one of the collector's informants. Often, however, Alexander alone seems to be responsible. Using the hypothesis of the psychic unity of mankind, he undertakes to set out universal values based on comparisons of his evaluations. Unfortunately he finds it necessary to make constant references to classical mythology and philosophy as being analogous to the Indian material under analysis so far as its metaphysical content is concerned. The unrealistic quality of his statements detracts from an otherwise very readable book, at least from the professional's point of view. Because of the methodological approach it is the reviewer's opinion that the interpretative statements made by Alexander are mainly not true. They are interesting speculations; they are couched in polished phrases; they demonstrate that Alexander was a warm person given to sensitive, introspective thought. But they are misleading insofar as they purport to be Indian attitudes and values.

J. A. JONES, *Indiana University*

INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIAL FRONTIER: THE EDMUND ATKIN REPORT AND PLAN OF 1755. Edited with an Introduction by *Wilbur R. Jacobs*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xxxviii, 108, \$5.00.) With the permission of the Huntington Library, Professor Jacobs has published Edmund Atkin's lengthy treatise on Indian affairs. The report, written on the eve of the Seven Years' War, represents the most detailed review of Indian management then available to the Board of Trade. It was not original in the sense of presenting new ideas, for Johnson, Pownall, Wraxall, and Kennedy held similar thoughts, but it brought together in a comprehensive, intelligent manner the prevailing ideas of the period. The plan suggested the erection of an independent jurisdiction, which would be split into two parts and which would be in charge of two superintendents. These men would regulate trade, establish defenses, and maintain diplomatic relations. They would work with the colonial governments and business interests, but they were to strive for independence and impartiality—in other words, to rise above the local political order. The Atkin report was but another example of the anxiety felt by Britons over the unsatisfactory state of imperial government. The royal and proprietary colonies had found their limits in meeting defense and intercolonial relations; something better was needed. The Albany plan focused the larger problem, but neither America nor England was ready for a compromise. The Atkin plan, whatever its

particular value, was clearly an attempt to meet part of this problem by putting western Indian management into British hands. It was doomed to failure because it denied the colonies control of lands and trade which were considered a birthright. Colonial historians will find the Atkin report of exceptional value for both research and classroom use. Professor Jacobs has done a concise, authoritative job of editing the manuscript and describing its importance. In keeping with its value, the University of South Carolina Press has produced an attractively illustrated book.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Whittier College*

THE PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. Volume XI [1764-1765]. Prepared for Publication by Milton W. Hamilton, Senior Historian, the Division of Archives and History, and Albert B. Corey, Director and State Historian (New York). (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1953, pp. viii, 994, \$5.25.) Beginning with Volume IX, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* entered upon what is in effect a new, supplementary series, running parallel in a chronological sense to the contents of Volumes I to VIII. This procedure was dictated by the desirability of including documents which were unknown or unavailable when the earlier volumes were in preparation. Thus the contents of Volume XI cover the years 1764 and 1765 and should be used in connection with the documents for the same period appearing in Volume IV. Among the important new materials appearing in these pages are papers from the Indian Records in the Public Archives of Canada and the Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor. Many previously published documents are also reprinted in order that the record may be as complete as possible. It is heartening to note that in the case of many documents destroyed or badly mutilated as a result of the fire in the New York state capitol in 1911, drafts or copies have been discovered elsewhere which help to make good what had been regarded as an irreparable loss. As in the earlier volumes the editors have selected their materials on a broad basis and the present collection includes letters both to and from Johnson, as well as voluminous records of conferences, memorials, etc. During the period covered by the present volume Johnson was superintendent of Indian affairs for the so-called Northern Department and his responsibilities involved a vast range of activities. Among the subjects dealt with in these papers are the suppression of the uprising under Pontiac and the pacification of the Indian country; the return of captives; provision for military defense including troop dispositions; the regulation and control of the fur trade; problems relating to western lands; missionary activities among the Indians; and compensation sought by traders who had suffered losses during the uprising. There is a tremendous amount of material relating to the administration of Indian affairs and one is deeply impressed by the complexity of these affairs and the amount of time and attention devoted to them. Probably the most interesting and valuable papers consist of the correspondence between Sir William and General Thomas Gage, dealing as it does with matters of broad policy. It is announced that Volume XII will complete this second chronological series, following which there will be a volume of appendixes and addenda with ultimately an index to the series as a whole. On the basis of the material which is being made available in this truly monumental collection it would seem that the time is ripe for a revaluation of Sir William Johnson's entire career, with special emphasis upon the critical period from 1763 to 1774.

WAYNE E. STEVENS, *Dartmouth College*

THE JOHN GRAY BLOUNT PAPERS. Volume I, 1764-1789. Edited by Alice Barnwell Keith. (Raleigh, N. C., State Department of Archives and History, 1952, pp. xlv, 572.) For many years North Carolina's State Department of Archives and His-

tory (formerly known as the North Carolina Historical Commission) has been engaged not only in acquiring and preserving archives and other manuscripts but also in making many of them readily available in published form. This publishing of historical documents is of great service to scholarship; and for it the department and the editors who participate in its program deserve high praise. The present volume contains 520 documents, chiefly letters, that have been selected for the most part from a manuscript group of some 10,000 items in the possession of the department that bears the same title as this volume. Only 34 of the documents antedate 1783, and one, on pages 459-61, should have been reserved for the next volume because it was written in 1790, not on January 26, 1789, as printed. Only two of the letters were written by John Gray Blount; most of the others were addressed to him. They provide a wealth of information about the agricultural, mercantile, shipping, land speculating, political, and other activities in which the three brothers, John Gray, Thomas, and William Blount, were closely associated, and about other persons with whom they dealt. These activities were centered in eastern North Carolina but they extended to the Indian country in the west and to Philadelphia and New York, London, the West Indies, and other parts of the world. The editorial work appears to have been carefully done, but the book deserves a much better index.

PHILIP M. HAMER, *Washington, D. C.*

THE PROMOTION OF BRITISH EMIGRATION BY AGENTS FOR AMERICAN LANDS, 1840-1860. By *Wilbur Stanley Shepperson*. (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1954, pp. 92.) When the history of unsuccessful American business enterprises comes to be compiled, this rather awkwardly written study may furnish one or two paragraphs. For of all the land agents and other promoters of British migration to midwestern, southern, and Texan farms whom Mr. Shepperson chronicles, hardly any managed to attract actual immigrants, and most of the British whom they did bring were speedily disabused of their expectations. There were plenty of British newcomers to America between 1840 and 1860, but they came because of factors—mainly economic and often industrial—more basic than land agents' propaganda. Mr. Shepperson is aware of such factors; his land agents merely sought to channel the flow of immigrants for their own profit. But when he implies that in this endeavor they enjoyed any significant success, his evidence gainsays his thesis. It is becoming apparent that research into immigration promotion has reached the point of vanishing returns. Is it not time to open up fresh avenues of inquiry into the conditions, in both the Old World and the New, which actually induced men and women to migrate in their millions?

ROWLAND T. BERTHOFF, *Princeton University*

MODERN SAGAS: THE STORY OF THE ICELANDERS IN NORTH AMERICA. By *Thorstina Walters*. With an Introduction by Allan Nevins. (Fargo, North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota Agricultural College, 1953, pp. x, 229, \$3.75.) The Icelanders are said to have been the smallest group of European immigrants speaking their own language ever to come to America. When the migration was at its height, the population of Iceland probably numbered about 100,000; still, it is estimated that between 1870 and 1900 nearly 30,000 emigrants left the island. At present there are some 60,000 people of Icelandic origin or descent on this continent—about 20,000 in the United States, the remaining 40,000 in Canada, especially in the province of Manitoba. It is generally agreed that Icelanders were the first white men to come to America; their saga on this continent is therefore in some respects a long one. But the volume under review deals with *modern* sagas and touches on the adventures of Eric the Red and his son Leif only by way of introduction. Neither does



the author attempt to tell the whole modern saga. The main emphasis is on the founding of the Icelandic settlement in northeastern North Dakota in the 1870's and its development up to the present. This little community becomes, so to speak, a laboratory where we see at work the forces of pioneering, assimilation, Americanization, and the like. Mrs. Walters grew up in this community and knows whereof she speaks. But she has by no means depended solely on her own experiences and recollections. She has also drawn heavily on the reminiscences and correspondence of "old timers" who played a prominent part in the life of the settlement. This lends a very personal touch to the narrative. The reader is more aware of the individual than the group. We hear about the struggle of farmers with grasshoppers, salesmen, and bankers, but we do not learn how the Icelandic farmers of North Dakota reacted to such "agrarian revolts" as Populism and the Farmer-Labor movement. Mention is also made of individual discontent with the Danish government of Iceland, but no analysis is made of the forces which drove an appreciable part of the population to emigrate. However, these sour notes must not be overplayed. Out of her warm feeling for her people and her intimate knowledge of their history, Mrs. Walters has written a moving story of the modern Icelanders in the New World.

C. A. CLAUSEN, *St. Olaf College*

THE FREMANTLE DIARY: BEING THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES ARTHUR LYON FREMANTLE, COLDSTREAM GUARDS, ON HIS THREE MONTHS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. Editing and Commentary by *Walter Lord*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. xv, 304, \$4.00.) Arthur Fremantle, a 28-year-old officer on leave from the British Army, toured the Confederacy in the summer of 1863. Spending three months en route from Texas to Maryland, he entered every Southern state except Arkansas and Florida. No other foreign visitor traversed so much of the wartime South or studied so broad a cross section of the Confederacy's people. This youthful Briton proved an alert, inquisitive, and friendly observer. He mingled as readily with uncouth Texans as with the elite of Charleston, and he penned sophisticated but sympathetic notes on life behind the Confederate lines. Perhaps the salient virtue of the diary is its description of Southern manners and mores as contrasted with those of comparable Englishmen. Throughout his travels, Fremantle sought out military installations and personnel. He observed Mississippi River ports at Shreveport and Natchez; visited the powder factories at Augusta; and inspected fortifications at Mobile and Charleston. The climax of all this is his vivid eyewitness account of the battle of Gettysburg. Fremantle talked with the principal Southern generals and also interviewed Jefferson Davis and Judah P. Benjamin. His sketches of the Confederate chieftains are interesting but superficial. Fremantle entered the Confederacy at the time of its highest morale, and he failed to look behind the façade of Southern patriotism. He did not realistically appraise problems of transportation, resources, or manpower; neither did he evaluate political issues or notice dissensions among military or civilian leaders. Fremantle frankly admired the "courage, energy, and patriotism of the whole population and the skill of its leaders," and he felt certain that the Confederacy would win both the war and its independence. Fremantle's journal was first published in England late in 1863, and two American printings, one in New York and another in Mobile, promptly appeared in 1864. In the current edition, Walter Lord has provided an attractive map of Fremantle's itinerary as well as fifty-six pages of notes and commentary.

ROMAN J. ZORN, *University of Wisconsin*

**GENERAL EDMUND KIRBY SMITH, C.S.A.** By *Joseph Howard Parks*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 537, \$6.00.) In 1907 Arthur H. Noll published a volume entitled *General Kirby-Smith* that was hardly an adequate treatment of its subject. Professor Parks has now given us a full-scale biography of the controversial general. It is a detailed account, enriched with intimate information drawn from the Kirby Smith family papers, to which the author was granted unrestricted access. The major portion of the book is devoted to Kirby Smith's Civil War career, with emphasis naturally falling upon his trials and tribulations as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. In eight able chapters Professor Parks shows how the harassed general contended with false rumors of impending attack, disgruntled subordinates, constant shortages of money and materiel, and a public opinion that was often as hostile as it was uninformed. The author sympathizes with Kirby Smith but does not present him as a faultless hero. On the contrary, after a careful weighing of evidence he often assigns him a share of blame for military failure. He concludes that while Kirby Smith erred in the conduct of the Red River campaign, his vitriolic critic, General Richard Taylor, owed a lucky victory to "the timidity and fear" that beset the opposing Union commander, Nathaniel P. Banks. "Both Kirby Smith and Taylor should have offered thanks for the good fortune that brought Banks, rather than Sherman, to the Red River Valley." Of the book as a whole it might be said that the narrative at times is too condensed and severely chronological, especially in the opening chapters, and that more analysis of Kirby Smith's character and personality than the brief comments offered would help evoke the living man. Nevertheless the author has produced a clear, straightforward account of "an honest soldier of considerable ability who was forced to attempt too much with too little." No one will read it without gaining new insights into the war west of the Mississippi. HAL BRIDGES, *University of Colorado*

**A MERCHANT PRINCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: WILLIAM E. DODGE.** By *Richard Lowitt*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xii, 384, \$5.00.) The transition in American business in the mid-nineteenth century from mercantile to industrial capitalism is one of the more significant and rewarding areas for research and synthesis. Today, we possess some excellent studies of businessmen in the colonial and early national periods. More are forthcoming. Our knowledge of the nature and development of American business in the transitional years, before the several functions performed by the large merchants were taken over by specialists, still requires much study, for in this period mercantile operations were of major consequence. One of the most influential of these "Big Business" merchants of the mid-nineteenth century was William E. Dodge, a partner in the firm of Phelps Dodge & Co., the leading metal importers of their day and actively engaged in such diverse business activities as lumber, railroads, copper mines and mills, banking, coal and iron lands, cotton, real estate, sailing vessels, and others. Employing the Phelps Dodge manuscripts in the New York Public Library, other contemporaneous manuscript collections, newspapers, local histories, and other similar sources, Mr. Lowitt has written a thorough and interesting account of Dodge's business career and activities. Unfortunately, the evidence available was not always sufficient to permit the author to develop fully some of the administrative, financial, and other problems which faced Dodge's business operations. Mr. Lowitt, however, is always careful to indicate the limitations of his sources and the areas where the evidence does not permit definitive conclusions. In no respect is this a narrow business biography, for Mr. Lowitt is consciously aware of the larger New York mercantile community and its numerous interests and aspirations. As a result, this is a fine case study of a mercantile capitalist

operating during a challenging economic period. Although primarily the biography of a businessman, Dodge's political, social, religious, philanthropic, and other interests are not neglected. The chapters on Dodge's non-business activities are thorough, interestingly written, and well integrated. VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE AND AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC ART By *Oliver W. Larkin*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. viii, 215, \$3.00.) This book is a brief biography of the entire and varied career of Morse and not, as one might expect, solely an account of Morse as an artist. Although pleasantly written, only about half of the 200 pages of text are devoted to Morse as an artist. Further the purpose of "American Democratic Art" as described in the preface of the book by the editor of this series of biographies, Oscar Handlin, was "to teach men by dramatic precepts the virtues of citizenship, and justify itself by its educational role." Only one of Morse's paintings, "The Old House of Representatives," came at all close to such a purpose. By far the greater number of Morse's 300 or so paintings were portraits, some of which Mr. Larkin states are "among the finest portraits ever painted in the United States." However, Larkin himself implies (p. 198) that Morse's ambitious canvases "had little relevance for an America which had no tradition of the Grand Style and whose people preferred on the whole a national art. . . ." The title of the book is therefore a misnomer and on this ground the book is a disappointment. There is in print an abler and better documented biography of Morse (*The American Leonardo*, by Carleton Mabey, New York, 1941). Mr. Larkin's "A Note on the Sources" indicates that his have been primarily secondary. Four illustrations are included in the volume, but no portrait of Morse, although Mr. Larkin does attempt to describe the artist's appearance in at least three places. Surely the reader of a biography deserves something better than a word portrait of the subject, especially as Morse painted a most interesting self-portrait.

ROBERT TAFT, *University of Kansas*

FEDERAL DEBT-MANAGEMENT POLICIES, 1865-1879. By *Robert T. Patterson*. (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1954, pp. xi, 244, \$4.50.) Dr. Patterson has put historians, economists, and the general public in his debt by illuminating the complex problems, factors, and currents of national governmental debt management in the "tragic era" of reconstruction, 1865-1879. His volume reveals industry in research, clarity in exposition, and awareness of significant problems. He has exploited with skill the published materials in governmental documents, controversial and scholarly treatises and periodical articles, memoirs, and biographies. He has not attempted to survey newspaper opinion, to delve into pressure politics, or to go into the rulings of the lower and higher federal courts on fiscal questions. These are fit subjects for other treatises, and have been covered in part by the reviewer's volume, *American Taxation* (1942), which Dr. Patterson cites on other problems. Yet the author should have explicated the U. S. Supreme Court's position in the Legal Tender Cases, to which he refers (p. 61), as well as the role of President Grant and Secretary Boutwell of the Treasury Department. (See the reviewer's "Was the Supreme Court Packed by President Grant?" *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1935.) An important contribution is the author's success in showing to what an extent each Secretary of the Treasury from 1865 to 1879 comprehended the problems of the depreciated currency and the low state of public credit as well as those of the size and burden of the debt. Each was limited in his power to resolve all the complexities by pressure groups or circumstances beyond his control or by limitations in his training and judgment. Sherman finally succeeded in restoring the value of the currency and

in re-establishing the public credit. Dr. Patterson concludes that one effect of debt reduction, in conjunction with a regressive tax system after 1872, was the distribution of "a part of the earnings of all the people to a comparatively few bondholders. This increased the rate of saving and investment and resulted in a higher national income. But it also helped to concentrate the ownership of wealth in the hands of a few" (p. 220). I wish the author had explored more deeply than he has in this volume the relations of fiscal policy to the business cycle and the level, as well as distribution, of the national income. The American business community was dominated for the most part by the economic views of bankers, but it is questionable whether the interests of industrial and business entrepreneurs (usually debtors) might not have been advanced by policies more in line with Keynesian economics than the orthodox balancing-the-budget policies of the Republican administrations in the post-Civil War era. The economic losses suffered in minor and major depressions during this and later periods caused so eminent and cautious an economist and economic historian as the late Wesley C. Mitchell to favor proposals that would prevent the violent fluctuations in the value of currency and in the level of national income that usually worked to the disadvantage of the debtor classes. See the conclusion to his rarely read masterly 1913 study, *Business Cycles*, which Dr. Patterson fails to cite in his otherwise exhaustive bibliography. Here are problems in economic statesmanship that Dr. Patterson's book invites its readers to investigate on their own. SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

**LAW WRITERS AND THE COURTS: THE INFLUENCE OF THOMAS M. COOLEY, CHRISTOPHER G. TIEDEMAN, AND JOHN F. DILLON UPON AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.** By Clyde E. Jacobs. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. x, 223, \$3.50.) "No truthful account of the development of American law in the nineteenth century," said Roscoe Pound, "can ignore the part played by the text writers." Mr. Jacobs proves how right Pound was by doggedly pursuing the influence of Cooley, Tiedeman, and Dillon. His purpose is "to show how laissez faire constitutional principles, formulated by the publicists and embodying enormous restrictions upon the police and taxing powers of government, were written into the fundamental law of the land through judicial application of the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments and of corresponding provisions in state constitutions." His book, supplementing Twiss's *Lawyers and the Constitution*, assiduously mines the state reports and utilizes some previously neglected briefs which illuminate the history of the liberty of contract and public purpose doctrines. He finds that these two doctrines, whose origins and uses he traces, were the means by which the text writers' opinions were incorporated into American constitutional law, giving it a pro-capitalist bias. The nexus between the commentators, the courts, constitutionalism, and capitalism does not need exaggeration, as Jacobs' review of the cases proves. But he tends to see capitalist hobgoblins under the judicial bed. It is questionable, for example, whether the public purpose doctrine, by which the taxing and spending powers were limited, served business interests as is here alleged. When the courts invalidate government aids to businesses, other than railroads, in all but one of forty cases between 1870 and 1910, on ground that the aids were not for public purposes, we have the phenomenon of a constitutional doctrine derived from laissez faire ideology being used to protect the taxpayers against corporate importunities. The liberty of contract cases prove Jacobs' thesis better. His footnotes, so annoyingly placed in the back of the book, are full of valuable comment: e.g., there is an Illinois case predating the Pennsylvania one traditionally thought to be the first in which liberty of contract constituted a ground for invalidating a statute. Regrettably, Jacobs' sketches of the careers and views of the text writers fail to go beyond Twiss. His

real contribution in this overbrief book is his analysis of the work of the state courts, which have been the wasteland of American legal scholarship and the breeding ground of American law.

LEONARD W. LEVY, *Brandeis University*

THE BROADENING CHURCH: A STUDY OF THEOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH SINCE 1869. By *Lefferts A. Loetscher*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954, pp. 195, \$4.75.) The current spate of good books on American religious history indicates that it has again become intellectually respectable to take religion seriously. Thoroughly secular scholars are waking up to the fact that religious data provide one of the best avenues into an understanding of those elusive but tremendously important aspects of culture with which the social and intellectual historian deals. At the same time, the old-fashioned clerics in whose hands religious history was formerly left to languish are being replaced by religiously oriented writers whose work is critical and scholarly. *The Broadening Church*, by Professor Lefferts A. Loetscher of the Princeton Theological Seminary, might well be a model for the many monographs needed in this long-neglected field. Written out of a sophisticated grasp of American intellectual history, this study describes the impact of the nineteenth-century scientific spirit, as manifested in evolutionary thought, the higher criticism, and immanentist theology, on that child of sixteenth-century Calvinism, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Professor Loetscher sees the struggles that grew out of these issues as merely an extension of the historic tension within American Presbyterianism between the more liberal tradition stemming from New England and New York and the more Calvinistic tradition stemming from Pennsylvania and Princeton Seminary. Final victory in the 1930's went to the "more moderate, mediating policies," which left room for both traditions, policies "which had always triumphed in the Church's crises, and which are to be regarded as manifesting the Church's truest theological character." Is this, however, really a theological position, or merely a pragmatic retreat from theology, for the sake of ecclesiastical unity and effectiveness? Professor Loetscher admits that "memories and scars of the old fundamentalist-modernist controversy still largely inhibit among Presbyterians the frank and realistic discussion of theological questions," but he also sees hopeful indications of renewed theological vigor.

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR., *Princeton University*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT UND DIE AUSSENPOLITIK DER VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON AMERIKA. By *Alex Weilenmann*. [Wirtschaft Gesellschaft Staat, Band IX.] (Zurich, Europa, 1953, pp. 138, Kt. Fr. 6.75.) Herr Weilenmann hoped, he explains, through this study of Roosevelt's concept of foreign policy to make a contribution to European understanding of American foreign policy in general. In a first long chapter he summarizes American foreign policy prior to 1898. In the second chapter he provides a biographical sketch of Roosevelt. In the third he analyzes Roosevelt's ideas on foreign policy and in the fourth offers his own conclusions. The author maintains that before 1898 American policy had been dominated by two complementary forces, isolationism and expansionism. By the time Roosevelt had become President the nineteenth-century dualism had been transformed into an antithesis between isolationism and internationalism. Weilenmann also warns his European readers that American foreign policy is a synthesis of realism and idealism. Besides the realism and idealism, he describes three main principles that explain Roosevelt's action: missionary zeal on behalf of Western civilization, national honor, and an understanding of the dynamics of politics. Panama, for instance, he describes as a product of this synthesis. Roosevelt had been impressed with American need for the canal but also



with the service a canal would render civilization. It would be false, Weilenmann feels, to look at the Panama episode solely from the point of view of idealism—civilization's need—but equally erroneous to consider it only from the selfish materialist angle. Both motives were intertwined. The narrative is clear; the story is accurately told. Yet somehow the interpretation offered of Theodore Roosevelt is much too simple. He was a more complex figure than here portrayed and his motives were more complicated. Besides, one wonders whether the ideas of nationalism and imperialism came full blown out of Europe to America. Weilenmann, too, strangely ignores the role of Britain in America's Caribbean policy in the nineteenth century. More serious, he uses none of the European sources so easily available to him. He does not even utilize, for example, the German foreign office papers published in *Die Grosse Politik* that could have thrown so much light on Roosevelt's foreign policy. Indeed, though he does use Burgess' works and Mahan's and quotes extensively from Roosevelt's own *Works*, he has depended to a surprising degree upon secondary items; he even cites textbooks for things easily available in sources. The only source material he uses besides the printed works of contemporaries are a few published collections of letters and Roosevelt's own published writings. The value of the book depends largely upon the person using it. For a German-speaking audience unable to read English it provides a good summary of the more obvious studies in English and of a few printed sources. Even for a German-speaking public, however, it does not present much evidence to establish one of its fundamental assumptions, namely, that Roosevelt was different from other statesmen in that he sincerely held the ideals he talked about in justifying his foreign policy and that the United States differs from many countries in that the American people sincerely believe ideals they express in discussing foreign affairs. In view of the indifference to and unawareness of American history that prevails among many British and Continental historians, Weilenmann is to be congratulated on his interest in this subject, and perhaps, in view of that indifference and unawareness, this is just the kind of book to make Europeans understand America better today.      HOWARD K. BEALE, *University of Wisconsin*

THE BATTLE HISTORY OF THE FIRST ARMORED DIVISION, "OLD IRON-SIDES." By *George F. Howe*. (Washington, Combat Forces Press, 1954, pp. 471, \$6.50.) This volume is a fine tribute to American fighting men and is worth more to the U. S. Army than a thousand field manuals for the study of armored tactics and the exercise of command. In World War II the Army committed eighty-eight divisions to combat. Many of these divisions have published accounts of their operations but most of them are either panegyrics or illustrated picture books. Howe's account of the 1st Armored Division is not only a refreshing exception; it is a stirring history of the contribution which pioneer armor made, despite the frustrations and limitations imposed by inferior equipment, high command failures in Tunisia, and unsuitable terrain in Italy. While the focus of this book is properly the division, it includes valuable accounts of small-unit operations and throws new light on the decisions and exercise of command at the higher levels in North Africa and Tunisia. In the first half of the book Dr. Howe exploits the fruits of many years of intensive research on the North African and Tunisian campaigns. His study results in a balanced judgment of these operations and an objective analysis of scores of battles. Howe lets the chips fall where they may. They hit most of the top commanders: Eisenhower, the Allied commander in chief, Alexander, the 18th Army group commander, Anderson, the British 1st Army commander, Fredendall, the American 2d Corps commander, as well as subordinate commanders. Through full use of Allied and Axis records Howe gives the reader an accurate picture of both sides of the hill which neither combatant



had at the time. His best description is the narrative of the critical defensive fighting around Faid and Kasserine Passes in February, 1943. The coverage of the later operations of the division in Italy is adequate but less dramatic because terrain limited its role more severely. The reasons for the use of the armor north of Rome and its misuse in the final breakthrough out of the North Apennines and the subsequent action in the Po Valley are not adequately explained. Howe avoids the myopic error—common to most division historians—of minimizing the achievements of other units and of exaggerating the contribution of the 1st Armored. Only once does he give greater credit to the division than it deserves: the counterattack on February 19, 1944, under the 1st Armored Division Command, though important, did not save the Anzio beachhead. Before that time the Germans had shot their bolt and the main reason for their failure was the effective, massed Allied artillery fire. The well-written narrative is heightened by several graphic eyewitness reports, 100 pages of excellent photographs, and numerous maps.

SIDNEY T. MATHEWS, *Johns Hopkins University*

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL: ITS PLACE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND IN AMERICAN CULTURE. Edited by *George Huntston Williams*. (Boston, Beacon Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 366, \$5.00.) President Pusey's widely quoted address of last year, "A Religion for Now," has attracted considerable attention to the current effort to rejuvenate the Harvard Divinity School. It suggests that the nation's oldest university may be taking the lead in neo-orthodoxy as it earlier led the way from Calvinism into religious liberalism at the beginning of the nineteenth century and on into scientific secularism during the tenure of President Eliot. This volume of essays sets the present picture in its historical context. Conrad Wright describes the founding of the Divinity School in 1811 and its development to the time of Emerson's famous address of 1838. Sidney E. Ahlstrom takes the story from 1840 to 1880, a period of decline. Levering Reynolds, Jr., discusses the growth of the historical approach which made the school a center of "scientific theology" in the 1880's and thereafter, the union with and separation from Andover Seminary, and more recent events. Ralph Lazzaro, in a supplementary essay which overlaps the preceding chapters somewhat, writes on theological scholarship from 1880 to 1953. Contributions by the late Dean Willard L. Sperry include a chapter dealing with student life and an appendix treating of "preparation for the ministry in a nondenominational school." Acting Dean George H. Williams analyzes the recurrent issues relating to reason versus revelation, general versus professional education, and the interrelationships of church, state, and university as they have affected Harvard. He makes an impressive case for the claims of theology to a place in modern universities. A chapter on Harvard College as a ministerial training center in the colonial period might well have been included. Rewarding as are the nuggets of insight this volume affords for many areas of American social and intellectual history, one leaves it with the impression that here is the ore of history and not the refined product. Perhaps single rather than plural authorship would have produced a more coherent and more cogent presentation of the university's role in reflecting the changing currents of American religious thought.

IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State University*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

GEORGE MERCER PAPERS RELATING TO THE OHIO COMPANY OF VIRGINIA. Compiled and Edited by *Lois Mulkearn*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954, pp. xxxviii, 731, \$10.00.) This book embodies all the extant records pertaining to the Ohio Company of Virginia (1747–1777) found in the George Mercer Papers in the William Darlington Library of the University of Pittsburgh. They are not the originals, which have entirely disappeared. The provenance of the papers in question prior to 1876 (when they were acquired by Darlington), as described by Lois Mulkearn, is not the least interesting part of the book. The publication of these records is of outstanding importance. It is now possible, for the first time, for historians to bridge a significant hiatus in our knowledge of the history of the Ohio Company. Such documents as articles of agreement, resolutions, petitions, and letters of the company's officers and members in Virginia, Maryland, and England represent the central core of the book. There are three textual versions of each of Gist's journals of his two exploratory expeditions, and a facsimile reproduction of "The Case of the Ohio Company extracted from original papers," printed in 1769 and now in the New-York Historical Society. The roll of names of men, whether members of the company or not, who played conspicuous roles in its affairs is impressive. The arrangement of the documents, so many of which overlap, is correct. The annotations are full and illuminating, but I wish to enter a caveat against their relegation to the end pages of the book; it is a device which creates a serious impediment to the use of the work. No concrete results stemmed directly from the endeavors of the company. But it was the first of several such enterprises, all of which were immobilized by the French and Indian War, by an irresolute British government, and by the American Revolution. Yet the sum total of knowledge concerning the Ohio domain was increased through the exploratory expeditions initiated by the Ohio Company.

CLARENCE E. CARTER, *National Archives*

WAITMAN THOMAS WILLEY, ORATOR, CHURCHMAN, HUMANITARIAN:  
TOGETHER WITH A HISTORY OF WESLEY METHODIST CHURCH, MOR-

GANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA. By *Charles H. Ambler*. (Huntington, W. Va., Standard Printing and Publishing Co., 1954, pp. 282.) The purpose of this short and readable biography of Willey is to reveal personal phases of the admission of West Virginia to statehood. It contains, in addition, a chapter on the Methodist Church of Morgantown. Based largely on the papers of Willey it contains also wide references to fundamental documents and studies in West Virginia history. A valuable chapter describes this near-abolitionist Virginia senator in Congress, 1861-1863.

ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WESTERN STATE: MISSOURI, 1820-1860. By *James Neal Primm*, Assistant Director, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri. [Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 174, \$3.75.) This is the third study of the role of state governments in ante-bellum economic development sponsored by the Committee on Research in Economic History. Each of the three on Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Missouri has revealed a concern by governments over economic problems and an inclination by officials to reject laissez faire and to use state power to encourage and direct economic development. The treatment of aids to transportation and state banking policies follows familiar routes but it brings together the motivation and rationalization for these and other state activities and places them in their proper setting. The states are shown as shaping and directing economic affairs by using their licensing and incorporation powers, inspection laws, the granting of franchises, mill privileges, monopolies, loans, bounties, and tax exemption. After reading any of these volumes one can no longer accept the notion that laissez faire is traditional to American growth and economic thought. James Primm follows the outline of the earlier Hartz and Handlin volumes but is not as successful in providing the setting for his account or in evaluating the success of the ventures he describes. Nor does he follow through to determine what local governments accomplished with internal improvement funds and lands the state turned over to them. His preoccupation with legislative and other political debates may be owing to the paucity of manuscript material of influential persons in comparison with the abundance available to the Handlins. The twisting and squirming of politicians in dealing with such knotty questions as banking is well displayed though it might have been related to prevailing economic needs. The treatment of the efforts to provide relief to hard pressed debtors after the panic of 1819 is useful but unfortunately the background in the territorial period is lacking. The "modified stay law" of 1821 is similar to a New York statute of 1820 that was designed to aid debtors to recover property sold on execution. Such relationships need attention.

PAUL W. GATES, *Cornell University*

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

COMMERCE OF THE PRAIRIES. By Josiah Gregg. Edited by Max L. Moorhead. [American Exploration and Travel.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. xxxviii, 469, \$7.50.) Readers of the *American Historical Review* need no description of the content and nature of this classic. All will recall the title, and most will remember the sense of reality which Gregg brought to them when they first turned the pages of his book. Its fame is likely to increase with the years. Flora, fauna, human activity, and even the face of nature have changed markedly from what they were when Gregg recorded them. Descriptions of the Santa Fe trade, prairie-dog towns, hand-rolled cigarettes, and Mexican methods of loading pack mules have all passed beyond the range of practical information but will continue to fascinate the reader of Gregg's account. The book has gone through various editions and reprints since its first publication in 1844. This edition is based on the first edition of 1844, and in addition to the complete text, notes, and maps it also contains a biographical introduction, critical notes, and a list of the author's sources. The biographical introduction and the editor's notes draw heavily on Maurice G. Fulton's (ed.) *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg* and on Paul Horgan's account of Gregg's life contained in that work. Professor Moorhead has succeeded in bringing together in one handsomely printed volume the answers to virtually all questions that may arise in regard to Gregg and his work. The biographical sketch deals adequately with Gregg's life and personality, and also gives the essential facts relating to the disputed editorship of his book. The editor identifies names, places, and incidents not clarified by Gregg's own text or

notes and also calls attention to errors of fact and interpretation by referring to other contemporary accounts or the results of more recent research. Maps and illustrations, careful editing, and fine printing make this an expensive volume, but Gregg's work deserves no less.

LEWIS E. ATHERTON, *University of Missouri*

A HISTORY OF OHIO. By *Eugene H. Roseboom* and *Francis P. Weisenburger*. Edited and Illustrated by *James H. Rodabaugh*. (Columbus, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1953, pp. xiii, 412, \$6.50.) Twenty years ago Professors Roseboom and Weisenburger of Ohio State published their first *History of Ohio* at a time when Ohioans were backward in writing their own state's history. Roseboom and Weisenburger's works are evidence that the backwardness is over. The new volume reveals thorough scholarship, is beautifully printed and illustrated, contains an excellent critical bibliography. At its sesquicentennial Ohio is old enough to have had not only a history but good historians.

MICHIGAN IN FOUR CENTURIES. By *F. Clever Bald*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954, pp. xiii, 498, \$4.00.) Covering the history of Michigan from prehistoric times to the present, this volume is addressed to the lay student. Written in a lively style, it is based on wide reading in both source and secondary material. Excellent illustrations enliven the text and a short bibliography is provided. The author, a member of the University of Michigan history department, thinks of Michigan history as the "way of life of its people."

A CENTURY OF BANKING IN WISCONSIN. By *Theodore A. Andersen*, Economist for the Ford Division of the Ford Motor Company. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, pp. vi, 226, \$4.00.) This concise, clear, and brief account begins with a chapter on "Territorial Banking" and ends with one on "Developments since 1935." Among the matters discussed are the banking activities of Alexander Mitchell, George Smith, and Cadwallader C. Washburn; the predicament in 1860-1861, when three fourths of the collateral behind Wisconsin bank currency consisted of depreciating Southern state bonds; and the effect on the state banks of such national legislation as the National Bank Act of 1863, the Federal Reserve Act, and the various New Deal measures. The author achieves brevity by forgoing the opportunity to make comparisons between banking in Wisconsin and other states and by avoiding detailed discussion of most political issues involving the banks. For example, he dismisses the greenback issue by stating that the farmers strenuously opposed retirement of greenbacks "because they believed it would tend to lower the prices of farm commodities, and they were already receiving relatively low prices, carrying heavy mortgage indebtedness, paying high freight rates, and suffering from federal tariff barriers." He emphasizes the importance of the increased use of bank checks in making more capital available, but he does not venture to suggest whether or not that new device was adequate to the legitimate needs of Wisconsin's large rural population. Concerning adequate government regulation of banking to protect depositors, however, he does make it clear that controls were woefully slow in coming; that what state action was finally taken on the matter was the result of an aroused public; and that it remained for the federal government to inaugurate deposit insurance—which had received much public support and banker opposition during the three previous decades. The book is well documented, evidencing a careful examination of reports of state and federal officials, bank association proceedings, several newspapers, a few manuscript collections, and some monographs.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL, *University of Maryland*

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XX, THE TERRITORY OF ARKANSAS, 1825-1829 (Continued). Compiled and Edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 967, \$4.25.) This is the second of the three volumes that are to contain, when completed, the official papers of the Territory of Arkansas. In this volume, as in the first, the papers have been drawn, for the most part, from the files of the various departments of the national government. Some important selections have been taken from the *Arkansas Gazette*. The period covered is from March, 1825, to March, 1829. There are approximately 842 documents, arranged in chronological order. Most of the documents relate to the two administrations of Governor George Izard. The others relate to the third and fourth administrations of Acting Governor Robert Crittenden. There is an index of 105 pages. The work of selecting and editing the material, and of preparing the index, measures up to the high standard set in the previous volumes of the series. The documents relate especially to administrative problems. They deal with Indian affairs, land surveys, land sales, the fixing of boundaries, the survey and construction of roads, the establishment of post offices and post roads, and the appointment of officials. Some interesting documents dealing with miscellaneous topics are included. An example is the inclusion of several documents relating to the search for William King, a man who was accused of being involved in the murder of William Morgan in New York for attempting to reveal the secrets of Free Masonry. When the third volume has been published, there will be easily available, for the first time, an abundance of source material covering the entire territorial period. This will meet a need long felt by students of early Arkansas history, and, in addition, will stimulate others to take more interest in the study of the subject. The publication of these volumes is a service that deserves the highest commendation.

JAMES HARRIS ATKINSON, *Little Rock Junior College*

ARID DOMAIN: THE SANTA FE RAILWAY AND ITS WESTERN LAND GRANT. By *William S. Greever*. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1954, pp. x, 184, \$4.00.) This little volume is a welcome addition to the small, but growing, list of books dealing with the policies governing land-grant railways in the administration and disposal of their land subsidies. Among transcontinental railways projected in the Civil War decade was the Atlantic and Pacific, chartered to build to California by the 35th parallel route. For building a line through northern New Mexico and Arizona, from the Rio Grande to the Colorado River, the company earned a land grant of some thirteen million acres; and when in 1897 the Santa Fe purchased the bankrupt Atlantic and Pacific it acquired somewhat more than ten million acres of the land subsidy. It is with this vast acreage of "low mesas, erosion valleys, dry washes, and stands of yellow pine and Douglas fir" that Mr. Greever is concerned. No other railway whose land policies have been studied was called upon to administer a wholly "arid domain." Other companies had large areas of arable land suitable for settlement. They were therefore cast in the role of colonizers. It is to the credit of Santa Fe authorities that their realistic hard sense, their honesty, and their enlightened self-interest enabled them to reject many offers for large acreage at high prices from "promoters who wished to colonize arid land without bothering to provide water." The bulk of the area was sold or leased as grazing land, while smaller areas were dealt with as timber, mineral or irrigable lands. Much of the grant was disposed of in the booms attending the two world wars. Mr. Greever is admirably judicious and impartial. If he is no apologist for the Santa Fe, neither is he of the opinion that the railway's land-grant policy was wholly inimical to the public interest. Indeed he makes it

clear that "the value of the grant was . . . repaid many times by freight rate discounts up to fifty percent on shipments by the government."

JAMES B. HEDGES, *Brown University*

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## Latin-American History

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## GENERAL

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC'S. [Department of State Publication 5424.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. xcv, 992, \$4.50.) The editors have done a good job of revealing the special significance of the year 1936 in United States-Latin American relations, by devoting nearly one fifth of the documents in Volume V (pp. 1-173) to "general" topics. Those on the Inter-American Peace Conference held at Buenos Aires in 1936 (pp. 3-34) reveal interesting aspects of the attitudes of Brazil, Argentina, Germany, the Philippines, and the League of Nations toward the conference. They also show something of the origin of the ideas which later produced the Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and the charter of the Organization of American States, as well as illuminating the complicated interplay of influences within the United States government which limited Hull's efforts to effect a "truce" in trade barriers. Documents on the settlement of the Chaco War (pp. 35-105) include the protocol ending the conflict (pp. 36 ff.). They throw light on the question of the exchange of prisoners not desiring to return (p. 49) and upon the effects of the Franco revolution in Paraguay (pp. 44 ff.). Documents showing the decision of the United States to abandon the Central American Treaty of 1923 as a guide to recognition (pp. 126-48) show how the new nonintervention policy seemed to require accepting *continuismo* in Guatemala and Honduras, and the personal conquest of power by Martínez in El Salvador. The Beaulac memorandum (pp. 136-48), which became a basic policy document, summarizes the experience under a policy based on the 1923 treaty and its gradual abandonment. Documents on the Inter-American Highway (pp. 151-73) reveal attitudes of the various Central American governments toward that project. Preliminaries of the boundary settlement between

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles.



Ecuador and Peru are covered in twenty pages of documents (pp. 106-25). Other significant topics covered include the Panama Treaty of 1936 (pp. 855 ff.); the religious situation in Mexico (pp. 773 ff.); the negotiation of trade agreements with Argentina, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua; termination of Haitian financial controls (pp. 599 ff.); revolutions in Nicaragua (pp. 815-51), Bolivia (pp. 220-36), and Paraguay (pp. 858-92); discussions with Argentina concerning equality of treatment of American oil companies (pp. 184-200); representation of the United States against the Mexican expropriation law of 1936 (pp. 715-30); and the United States attitude toward a proposed Central American defensive alliance against communism (pp. 851-54).

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#### INDEXES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ARCHIVE GUIDES

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#### COLONIAL PERIOD

- DE LAS ISLAS DEL MAR OCÉANO. By Juan López de Palacios Rubios. DEL DOMINIO DE LOS REYES DE ESPAÑA SOBRE LOS INDIOS. By Fray Matías de Paz. Introduction by Silvio Zavala. Translation, notes and bibliography by Agustín Millares Carlo. [Biblioteca Americana, Serie de Cronistas de Indias.] (Mexico, D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954, pp. cxxx, 318.) Of the two treatises published in this volume, *De dominio regum Hispaniae super indos* of Fray Matías de Paz has been available up to now in the Latin edition of Beltrán de Heredia in the

*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, III (1933). Palacios Rubios' *Libellus de insulis oceanis* (MS. No. 17.641 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) has remained unedited save for a few passages published by Dr. Zavala in 1937. The two works appear in full Spanish translation for the first time. They are similar in subject matter and have a like origin, for both were inspired by the Burgos convention of 1512. Both deal with the moral and legal problems of Spanish dominion in the Indies, with the nature of Indian man, and with the title on which Spanish authority was believed to rest. But whereas Matías de Paz, a Dominican friar and professor at the University of Salamanca, understood his topic theologically, Palacios Rubios' approach, as became a member of the *consejo real*, tended more toward juridical disquisition. Thus the two principal points of view from which such problems might be examined in the sixteenth century received simultaneous and complementary expression at a very early stage in the intellectual history of the subject. To bring forth their relationship and interdependence was the intention of Ferdinand in inviting the treatises, and the same is maintained for modern students in this accurate and carefully annotated double edition. Palacios Rubios probably enjoys the greater reputation. His bibliography, recapitulated as an appendix to this volume, includes the *Glossemata* on the *Leyes de Toro*, the *Requerimiento*, and a number of other works in addition to *De insulis*. The unique Madrid manuscript of the latter holds a special interest because of the critical marginalia by Las Casas. On most points *De insulis* offers a more considered and thorough presentation than *De dominio*, which is shorter and appears to have been more hastily written. The informative, analytical introduction by Dr. Zavala is reprinted from the *Memoria de El Colegio Nacional* of 1950-1951. Translations from Latin into Spanish and citations of authorities are the work of Agustín Millares Carlo. Both editorial tasks are accomplished with skill and erudition.

CHARLES GIBSON, *State University of Iowa*

EARLY COLONIAL TRADE AND NAVIGATION BETWEEN MEXICO AND PERU. By Woodrow Borah. [Ibero-Americana, Number 38.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. 170, \$2.50.) To those familiar with the consistently high quality of the Ibero-Americana publications and the integrity of Woodrow Borah's scholarship, the excellence of this study of early colonial trade between Mexico and Peru will come as no surprise. Trade between the two Spanish viceroalties began, as so much in early Mexican history did, with efforts made by Cortez to find new worlds to conquer or new pesos to garner. It ended abruptly when Spanish apprehensions were aroused because of the diversion of Peruvian silver to Mexico by the Manila galleon trade. In all, this early contact lasted almost exactly one hundred years—from Grijalva's voyage in 1536 until the suspension of all trade between Mexico and Peru in 1631. This is a period which Dr. Borah knows well. Using fresh manuscript materials for the most part, he has endeavored to recreate this early commerce as clearly and as fully as possible. He deals with the origins of the trade; the roles of Cortez, Alvarado, Mendoza, and other individuals; the ports—especially Huatulco—and the shipyards used; the routes followed; the place and importance of the trade in the economic patterns of both countries; the kind and degree of government regulation exercised over it; the extent and nature of the trade at its maturity and its eventual relationship to that of the Manila galleons. The study concludes with a penetrating analysis of the factors which brought the trade to a close. The main features of this economic intercourse between Mexico and Peru were already known, as well as its ultimate fate. Dr. Borah has filled in the details to form a satisfying picture where there was only outline before.

IONE STUESSY WRIGHT, *University of Miami*

## THE INDIAN POLICY OF PORTUGAL IN THE AMAZON REGION, 1614-1693.

By *Mathias C. Kiemen*. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. xii, 216, \$2.50.) The seventeenth century was crucial in Brazilian history. It witnessed the repulse of the Dutch, the first great hinterland explorations, and the Portuguese expansion into Ceará, Piauí, Maranhão, Pará, and Amazonas. These northern districts, which were not then classified as part of Brazil proper, are the ones under discussion here. Father Mathias C. Kiemen traces the eighty years in which ecclesiastical and secular Portuguese, mostly the former, evolved a policy for controlling and civilizing the northern Indians. His is primarily a missionary story, involving Franciscans, Jesuits, Mercedarians, Carmelites, and members of the secular clergy. It is a history of quarrels between priests and laymen and between the orders themselves; a story of failures accompanied by perseverance, culminating near the end of the era in a workable policy of co-operation lasting until Pombal's time. All readers must commend the accuracy and objectivity with which the author, despite his understandable Franciscan preference, has presented the facts. Yet, in view of his praiseworthy research in the archives of Lisbon, Simancas, Seville, and Rome, it is a pity that he has not breathed more life into the account. This is a doctoral thesis, and, unfortunately, it reads like one. The trouble is not so much bad writing as poor digestion of the documents. The author is captured by them and led hither and yon, to the obscuration of major trends. Amazonian documentation tends to overshadow Amazonian life in this account. Both Father Kiemen and his documents frequently tell us that the lay Portuguese oppressed the Indians; more of the gory details would be welcome. The author begins (pp. 2-3) with some description of ritual cannibalism among the Tupí-Guaranis, the principal group involved. This surely posed a problem for the missionaries; it would be interesting to learn how they solved it. Yet, except for occasional hints that some natives were slow to abandon their anthropophagical habits, we hear no more of the matter. This book is one of many in which an author has given more effort to gathering than to presenting his material.

CHARLES E. NOWELL, *University of Illinois*

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## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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## SOUTH AMERICA

CARACAS DIARY, 1835-1840: THE JOURNAL OF JOHN G. A. WILLIAMSON, FIRST DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES TO VENEZUELA. Edited by *Jane Lucas de Grummond*. (Baton Rouge, La., Camellia Publishing Co., 1954, pp. xxxiv, 444.) This diary was discovered in 1942 in the William T. Morrey Collection of the Louisiana State University by the present editor. She began the exploitation of the material contained in the two original volumes with "Caracas Exile," an article published in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, October, 1947; she continued her exploitation venture, and the Louisiana State University Press brought out her *Envoy to Caracas* volume four years later. Now, three years still later, we get in an attractive format the diary itself—presumably all of it except the few lines inked out here and there and the large section missing for the period May 16, 1836, to June 24, 1838. The editor very accommodatingly filled the two-year hiatus with a brief chapter (xi) compiled from Williamson's official correspondence

with the State Department. The value of *Caracas Diary* is greatly enhanced by an intelligent orientation. The editor's ample introduction includes a pertinent account of Williamson's private and public career before he became chargé to Venezuela in 1835, along with a description of political affairs in northern South America into which the American diplomat was thrust. Moreover, her explanatory footnotes are unusually illuminating. The contents of the diary itself represent the greatest paradoxes this reviewer has come across during his brief academic experience. On the one hand, one finds marvelous descriptions of Venezuela's physical beauty and vivid characterizations of the many types of society represented at Caracas in Williamson's time; on the other hand, the author's provincial, pro-slavery, antiforeign, anti-Catholic biases are notorious even for that day and age. Moreover, here is a supposedly educated, partly college-bred man whose spelling and English composition are befitting only to our present era of "progressive" education. But perhaps these contradictory elements in the diary may make its reading more amusing to some. Certainly the editor is in no way responsible for them. She has done a fine job of presentation.

LAWRENCE F. HILL, *Ohio State University*

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

### American Historical Association

The annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Award of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close this year on May 1. The award has a cash value of \$1,000 and provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honorable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and this award, too, carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Professor John Tate Lanning, Department of History, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Raymond P. Stearns, 313 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, before April 1, 1954. The committee wishes to emphasize that it will no longer read carbon copies, rough drafts, or manuscripts extensively worked over in longhand.

Copies of a folder of information concerning the International Historical Congress at Rome, September 4-11, 1955, are available to members who write to the Association office for them.

Semiannual luncheons for historians in and around Washington, D.C., are held the last Saturday in October and the last Saturday in March (unless Easter falls on the following Sunday). Historians from other parts of the country or abroad who happen to be in Washington at either of these times are cordially invited to attend. Further information may be obtained from the Association office.

Professor Earl H. Pritchard, who had compiled the list of articles in Far Eastern history for the *Review* since the January, 1942, issue, resigned last spring under the pressure of other duties. The Far Eastern Section has been divided into two parts: Eastern Asia (China, Japan, and Korea) and Southern Asia (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indochina, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines). Compilers for the two lists, both of which appear in this issue for



the first time, are Hilary Conroy of the University of Pennsylvania and Cecil Hobbs of the Library of Congress.

## Other Historical Activities

Benjamin H. Griswold, III, a partner of Alex. Brown & Sons of Baltimore and a direct descendant of its founder, has presented the firm's records for the years 1800-80 to the Library of Congress. Beginning as a linen importer, Alexander Brown was one of the foremost mercantile figures in America and head of an international banking house at the time of his death in 1834. The records are contained in 263 volumes and in photocopies of 3 additional volumes. Among the most interesting are lettercopy and letterpress books from 1802 to 1880 (124 volumes); they contain detailed information about political and civil affairs in this and foreign countries, which was collected as a basis for making sound business decisions.

The Library has received the first installments of papers of the Gallaudet family, pioneers in the education of the deaf in America. These include correspondence of, and a notebook kept at Yale College by, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet (1787-1851), founder and first president of the American School for the Deaf at Hartford, Connecticut. When complete, the collection will also include papers of his son, Edward Miner Gallaudet (1837-1917), who expanded the Columbia Institution for the Deaf in Washington, D.C., into a collegiate institution, known today as Gallaudet College. The papers will remain under restriction for five years.

The papers of the late Ogden Livingston Mills, estimated to number about 60,000 pieces, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Mills. They contain official and personal correspondence covering Mr. Mills's service as a member of Congress from New York, 1921-27, Under Secretary of the Treasury, 1927-32, and Secretary of the Treasury, February, 1932, to March, 1933. When the collection has been organized, it will be available for use by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The Evalyn Walsh McLean papers, presented to the Library as a deposit some years ago, were made a gift by Judge Thurmond Arnold of Washington. The collection, which numbers some 40,000 pieces, consists largely of incoming letters and other papers. There is a substantial group of papers of Mrs. McLean's father, Thomas F. Walsh, relating to his career as mine owner and mining engineer in Colorado, and some material dealing with various business enterprises of the McLean family; but the correspondence is preponderantly social.

The papers of Benjamin C. Marsh, who was closely associated with the People's Lobby, Inc., from its inception in the early 1930's to its close in 1950, have been presented by his son, Michael Marsh. Although a few of the items date as far back as 1910, the papers are mainly records of the People's Lobby, of

which Mr. Marsh was executive secretary. Included is considerable correspondence with John Dewey, for many years president of the Lobby, and with James Couzens, Harold L. Ickes, and Henry C. Wallace; there are scattered letters from former President Herbert Hoover, Cordell Hull, J. S. Middleton (secretary of the British Labour party), and many others.

Significant additions to two collections have been received by the Library. To the extensive collection of Ewing family papers, there have been added some 9,000 pieces, dated from 1769 to 1949. These relate chiefly to Gen. Charles Ewing (1835-83) and are of particular interest for the period of the Civil War and the years immediately following. Photocopies of more than 150 pieces of correspondence exchanged between Gutzon Borglum and important figures of the twentieth century have been added to the Borglum papers by permission of Mrs. Borglum. Correspondence with William Allen White, Robert Todd Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt is included.

A significant event in the world of historical scholarship is the opening of the Adams papers in Boston, Massachusetts. The papers, released by Thomas Boylston Adams and John Quincy Adams, trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust, will ultimately be given to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The collection contains more than 300,000 manuscript pages—letters and diaries of four generations of the Adams family from pre-Revolutionary days through World War I. The papers are to be edited and published under the sponsorship of the Adams Manuscript Trust, the Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard University, and *Life* Magazine. Lyman H. Butterfield is editor-in-chief. Harvard University, through the Belknap Press, has agreed to publish as many volumes of the papers as are judged to be of wide historical interest. In advance of book publication, *Life* Magazine will publish selected portions of the material. A grant by *Life* Magazine, Time, Inc., extending over a decade and amounting to \$250,000, will give the necessary financial support for maintaining the editorial staff for the papers. Microfilm copies of the collection will be made available to sixteen major research libraries, including the Library of Congress, within the year.

The family of John Hay has presented a collection of Hay's letters, notebooks, and diaries to the John Hay library in Brown University. Many of the manuscripts deal with the Civil War period and some are in Lincoln's own hand. The material contains no official documents but there are drafts of letters by Hay or Lincoln which Lincoln sent to his generals, cabinet, or friends.

The Microfilm Committee of the Canadian Library Association (see *AHR*, April, 1954, p. 822.) has issued Volume I, no. 1, of its *Microfilm News Notes*,

which includes a preliminary catalogue of the titles most recently microfilmed. Among these are the Niagara Peninsula newspapers—twenty-five titles in all, covering the period 1799 to 1898, and microfilmed as two sets: the Niagara Papers (those published at Niagara-on-the-Lake), and the St. Catharines Papers (those published at St. Catharines). Since some of the files of these papers are broken, the Canadian Library Association would welcome information as to the location of missing numbers. Such information, or queries about the project, should be addressed to the Canadian Library Association, 46 Elgin Street, Room 40, Ottawa, Canada.

The National Archives has recently issued "Special Lists," No. 13, *List of Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, compiled by Laura E. Kelsay, and "Preliminary Inventories," No. 71, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives Investigating National Defense Migration, 1940-43*, compiled by George P. Perros.

The Middle East Institute is preparing for publication an annual "Survey of Research in Progress on the Middle East." The geographical area concerned includes the Arab countries, Israel, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, North Africa, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. The subjects will cover ancient, medieval, and modern problems in the social sciences and appropriate aspects of related fields (e.g., linguistics, archaeology, art, law, and Islamics). All those currently engaged in research on the Middle East are urged to submit the following information: name, address, topic of investigation, sponsoring organization (if any), estimated date of completion, and pertinent comments on the nature of the research, sources being used, and method of approach. Correspondence should be addressed to: Survey of Research, the Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. The Institute would also like to receive information on research completed since October 1, 1954.

The Business History Foundation, Inc., has recently arranged to write the history of the Great Northern Railway Company. Dr. Charles W. Moore, the Foundation's president, announced that the authors will be Professor Ralph W. Hidy of New York University and Dr. Muriel E. Hidy, associate of the Foundation. The history is planned to be a study of the company's administration and operations from the beginnings of its predecessors in the 1850's to the present. It will probably be published in 1962.

Bound sets of the typewritten "Extension Volume" II (a detailed study of materials, in four books) of Eldon Griffin's *Clippers and Consuls: American Consular and Commercial Relations with Eastern Asia, 1845-1860* (Volume I published 1938) have been deposited in the Baker Library, Graduate School of

Business Administration, Harvard University, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, and in the library of the University of California, Berkeley. A third set remains with the author, 1211 Twenty-first Ave. North, Seattle 2, Washington.

*The Times* [London] *Literary Supplement* of September 17, 1954, devoted 100 pages to "American Writing To-day." Included are two essays on history, "Rival Approaches to History: Gentlemen v. Players," and "The Movement of History in the United States."

At the February, 1954, meeting in Paris of the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, which was attended by the full members of the Commission and the author-editors, the structure of the Commission was altered in a number of ways. (See earlier note on the Commission, *AHR*, LVIII [October, 1952], 233.) The editorial committee, set up for the purpose of supervising the work of the author-editors and consisting of five members with Professor Ralph E. Turner as its chairman, was abolished; the author-editors were made full members of the Commission, thereby becoming fully responsible for the work, and decisions taken concerning it, instead of simply carrying out the wishes of the Commission on a contract basis. When the first drafts of the manuscripts are ready in 1956, Professor Turner will be appointed as editor to co-ordinate the six volumes. He and another member of the Commission, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of India, were made vice-presidents and members of the Bureau, which also includes the two other vice-presidents, Dr. Julian S. Huxley of the United Kingdom and Professor Carl J. Burckhardt of Switzerland, and the president, Professor Paulo E. de Berrêda Carneiro of Brazil.

At the same meeting, the nomination of Dr. Caroline Ware of Howard University as author-editor of Volume VI was approved. (This post had formerly been held by Professor K. Zachariah of India, who was forced to resign for personal reasons.) Dr. Ware has since accepted this appointment, and Professor Jan Romein of the University of Amsterdam has accepted the position of co-author-editor of this volume. An Indian scholar will soon be appointed second co-author-editor. In addition, Professor Mahmud Husain from the University of Pakistan has since accepted the invitation to become a full member of the Commission, and Professor Luciano Petech of the University of Rome has accepted appointment as associate to Volume II. The nominations of Professor Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina and Professor Earl H. Pritchard of the University of Chicago as associates to Volume IV have been approved. Except for the appointment of associates for Volume V, the roster of scholars responsible for the six volumes was complete by the middle of last summer. However, the unfortunate death in July of Dr. Henri Frankfort of the Warburg Institute of London left the post of author-editor of Volume I, Part II, vacant. Sir Leonard Woolley, F.S.A., English archaeologist and author, has now been appointed to replace Dr. Frankfort.

As for the actual preparation of the manuscripts of the History, the greater part of the February meeting was taken up in a critical analysis of the draft plans and introductions of the volumes, with the exception of that for Volume VI, which Dr. Ware is preparing. The author-editors are revising their plans to meet the decisions taken at the meeting. Furthermore, to insure a logical transition between the volumes, there have been several brief meetings between individual author-editors, and a meeting of all the author-editors is planned for the spring of 1955 in Paris. These plans will eventually be published in the *Journal of World History* so they may be examined by all those interested in the History. In the meantime, research and the writing of parts of the first drafts of the manuscripts themselves are proceeding at an ever-increasing rate. A contract for the publication of the History in English has been signed with Little, Brown and Company of Boston, which, in addition to the six volumes, provides for the publication of two derivative works—a text and trade edition. The publication date has been set for 1958.

Meanwhile, the *Journal of World History* has entered its second year of publication and has been well received by the press. The main emphasis of the *Journal* lies in inter-regional, intercultural, and international aspects of the scientific and cultural development of mankind. In the coming months, a considerable effort will be made to publicize the *Journal* among public and university libraries and historical associations throughout the world.

The Commission is confident that, after the February meeting, when general agreement was reached on many points of procedure and on the basic contents of the volumes, its work will proceed more smoothly and rapidly than has been the case before. As parts of the volumes are ready in draft form, they will be submitted to the critical evaluation of the consultants and corresponding members to insure that the History is truly international in character.

The annual Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research in London on July 8–10, 1954. Eleven papers were read and a number of social gatherings held. Over eighty American and Canadian historians attended. It was decided to hold a similar brief conference at the Institute July 7–9, 1955. Historians from North America who expect to be in England at that time are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute, University of London, Senate House, W.C. 1, early in the New Year, so that invitations may be sent to them.

On September 15 a group of the historians in the Army's Office of Military History met for the first session of a school which will hold fifteen meetings during the year. At each meeting a lecture by one of the members will be followed by an hour's discussion. The objective during the year is to develop the outline and bibliography of a course in the military history of the United States. The chairman of the group, Dr. K. R. Greenfield, desires to be notified of any

course in the subject now being given. His address: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington 25, D.C.

The Upper Midwest History Conference was held at the University of Minnesota on October 15. Professor Robert Fogerty of the College of St. Thomas presided and President Paul Giddens of Hamline University read a paper entitled "Standard Oil Company (Indiana): A Pioneer of the Petroleum Industry in the Middle West." Professor Ernest Osgood, University of Minnesota, was elected presiding officer for the coming year and Walker D. Wyman, Wisconsin State College at River Falls, was re-elected secretary.

The Conference of Historians of Northern New England was held at Dartmouth College October 9 and 10 with representatives present from the universities of Vermont and New Hampshire, Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, Dartmouth, Marlboro, Middlebury, Norwich, and St. Anselms. The main speaker was Professor Paul Fullam of Colby College, recent candidate in Maine for the United States Senate.

Since 1951 the Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo in Spoleto has held an annual "settimana," or a week-long conference, on early medieval studies. A specific historical period is studied each year; a number of scholars are invited to deliver lectures; attendance is open to all, but there is a picked group of Italian and foreign postgraduate students and young teachers who are granted fellowships so that they may attend. Americans, of course, are welcome to apply. In 1954 the "post-Carolingian" period was illustrated with lectures by Professors Boeckler, Bognetti, Faral, Falco, Franceschini, de Francovich, Ganshof, Grand, Leicht, Luzzatte, MacKinney, Mor, Morghen, Schramm, Uhlirz, and Lopez. The Gothic period will be studied in 1955. The president of the Centro is Professor Giuseppe Ermini, now minister of public instruction in Italy; the secretary is Giovanni Antonelli. The transactions of the "settimana" are published, two volumes having so far appeared.

Twelve students from seven universities attended the third summer seminar in numismatics held by the American Numismatic Society at its Museum in New York from June 22 to August 28, 1954. The use of numismatics as a necessary auxiliary to research in history and other broad fields of study provided the theme of the seminar. The program included background reading on coins, attendance at seventeen conferences conducted by specialists in selected fields, and preparation by each student of a paper on a topic of his own selection. Most of the conferences were concerned with specific problems in ancient and medieval history and art toward the solution of which numismatics makes a definite contribution. In the closing week of the seminar each of the students conducted a conference on his own topic of investigation. The seminar will be held again in



the summer of 1955, and the society will again offer grants-in-aid to students who will have completed at least one year's graduate study by June, 1955, in archaeology, classics, economics, history, history of art, oriental languages, and other humanistic fields. Each study grant will carry a stipend of \$500. This offer is restricted to students enrolled in universities in the United States and Canada. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, N.Y. Completed applications for the grants must be filed by March 1, 1955.

Through the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, five two-year fellowships are awarded annually for work in early American culture at the University of Delaware. The Fellows currently engaged in research are seeking information on the following subjects: John Lewis Krimmel, genre painter working in Philadelphia 1810-1821; John Potts (1710-1768), early Pennsylvania ironmaster and builder of Potts Grove, Pottstown, Pennsylvania; Jonathan Gostelowe (1744-1795), Philadelphia cabinetmaker; and the influence of English design books on Philadelphia furniture styles, 1760-1780. Information should be addressed to the Museum, at Winterthur, Delaware.

The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, announces the establishment of a fellowship awarding \$5,000 to the writer who displays the most insight and scholarship in projecting a book-length manuscript analyzing some significant aspect of the culture of Kentucky or its region. When completed, the book will be published by the press. Deadline for application for the fellowship is April 1, 1955.

The Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust, established by Harper and Brothers to provide assistance to writers, has granted a fellowship to Richard M. Huber of Princeton, New Jersey, to complete a history of the idea of success in America.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Solon J. Buck, treasurer of the American Historical Association, former Archivist of the United States, and Assistant Librarian of Congress, retired from the last position on September 1, 1954. He will continue to give his time to consultation with historians who seek information concerning manuscripts and archival material in United States history and will be found in Study Room 127 of the Library of Congress Annex or at his home, 321 A Street, S.E.

David C. Mearns, chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, has succeeded Solon J. Buck as the representative of the Librarian of

Congress on the National Historical Publications Commission. Wilfred E. Binkley of Ohio Northern University has been appointed a member of the commission in the place of Richard H. Shryock, whose term expired in 1954.

George W. Knepper, Jr., has accepted a year's appointment as instructor in history and assistant adviser of men at the University of Akron.

Charles G. Summersell has been appointed chairman of the department of history in the University of Alabama to replace Frank L. Owsley, who has resigned the headship. Lewis M. Wetzler has been appointed acting associate professor of history, and Allen Going is on leave to teach in the history department of the University of North Carolina. Vernon C. Grosse has been appointed assistant to the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

Ethel Marshall is on leave of absence from Alabama College for study at the University of Florida.

M. K. Dziewanowski has been appointed assistant professor of history in Boston College.

Koenraad W. Swart has been appointed professor of history and social studies at Brenau College.

At Bryn Mawr College David J. Herlihy, formerly of Yale University, has been appointed assistant professor in medieval history. His duties will begin in the fall of 1955 since he is currently on a Fulbright Fellowship in Italy. Meanwhile Wallace T. MacCaffrey of Haverford College and Mrs. Lois G. Schwoerer of Bryn Mawr are assisting in the work of the department.

Appointments to the staff in history and related fields at the new Riverside campus of the University of California, now in its first full year of operation, have been made as follows: Ernst Ekman, instructor in European history; Robert V. Hine, instructor in American history; James B. Parsons, Jr., instructor in Far Eastern history and culture; John L. Beatty, assistant professor of history and humanities; L. Marshall Van Deusen, assistant professor of American civilization; Theodore H. Von Laue, assistant professor of European history. For 1954-55 while Mr. Von Laue is on a Fulbright in Finland, Owen Ulph, formerly of Reed College and the University of Nevada, is serving in his place as acting assistant professor of history and humanities. The division of humanities, of which the staff in history is a part, is under the chairmanship of John W. Olmsted, professor of European history, who until 1952 was a member of the department of history at the University of California at Los Angeles.

J. Monaghan of the University of California, Santa Barbara College, has gone to Australia on a Fulbright Fellowship for research on the gold rush from that country to California.

William Harrigan has accepted a position as instructor in history in Canisius College, Buffalo.

Clark C. Spence has been appointed instructor in history at Carleton College.

George H. Lobdell, Jr., has been appointed associate professor of history in Carthage College.

Gerhard L. Weinberg, formerly of the War Documentation Project of Columbia University, has been appointed lecturer in modern history in the University of Chicago.

Douglas Reading has been promoted to professor of history in Colgate University and Gilbert Cahill to assistant professor.

At Dartmouth College, Richard B. McCornack is on leave for the current academic year. W. R. Waterman and R. E. Riegel will be on leave for the second semester. Dr. Riegel will serve as visiting lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley.

Clifton J. Phillips has been appointed instructor in history in DePauw University.

John S. Curtiss, Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Arthur B. Ferguson are on sabbatical leave from Duke University during 1954-55. Andrew G. Whiteside and Charles R. Young have been appointed instructors in history at Duke.

Aretas A. Dayton of Eastern Washington College of Education has been promoted to the rank of professor and named head of the division of history and social studies.

At the University of Florida Donald E. Worcester has been named acting head of the department of history; John A. Harrison and David L. Dowd have been promoted to associate professorships; John K. Mahon has been appointed assistant professor of history; and Eugene E. Pfaff of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina is serving as interim professor of history. Rembert W. Patrick, Arthur Funk, and Arthur Thompson are on leave. Professor Thompson is teaching at the City College of New York.

Arthur Bestor of the University of Illinois has been elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year.

Nicholas V. Riasanovsky has been promoted to associate professor of history in the State University of Iowa. He is spending the current year in Europe, principally in Finland, doing research on a Fulbright grant. Stow Persons will teach at the American Seminar in Salzburg in the spring.

George S. May has been appointed research associate in the State Historical Society of Iowa, effective July 1, 1954.

Alfred A. Skerpan of the department of history in Kent State University is in Finland for the year on a Fulbright Fellowship. A. S. Brown, formerly of the University of Michigan, is serving in his place. L. S. Kaplan, formerly a historian with the Department of Defense in Washington, has been appointed instructor in history at Kent.

Raleigh Suarez and William H. Adams have been appointed part-time instructors in Louisiana State University.

Thomas H. Greer of Michigan State College is on sabbatical leave during the current year. He is completing his study of the political philosophy of Franklin Roosevelt.

Eugene T. Petersen has resigned as instructor of history in the University of Michigan to become director of the Michigan Historical Museum at Lansing.

Lawrence D. Steefel is in Germany on a year's sabbatical leave from the University of Minnesota. George M. Stephenson, emeritus professor of history in the University of Minnesota, is in Sweden on a Fulbright lectureship.

Harold Dean Cater resigned in October as secretary and director of the Minnesota Historical Society. On October 15 Solon J. Buck, who was secretary and superintendent of the society from 1914 to 1931, temporarily became acting director. He returned to Washington on October 30, and Russell Fridley, the assistant director, is in charge in Dr. Buck's absence.

At the University of Missouri Irvin G. Wyllie and David H. Pinkney are on leave; Samuel H. Baron and James N. Primm have been appointed visiting assistant professors for the year. I. J. Brugmans of the University of Amsterdam is teaching at Missouri during the first semester; he is in the United States on a combined Fulbright and Hay-Whitney Award. James L. Bugg has been promoted to associate professor of history and Lewis W. Spitz to assistant professor. Dean

Elmer Ellis is acting president of the university for the academic year 1954-55, and W. F. English has been promoted to associate dean and has assumed the duties of dean of arts and science during the current year.

Mitchell Smith of Midwestern University, Texas, is serving as lecturer in history in the University of Nevada for the current academic year.

Osgood Hardy, Norman Bridge professor of American history at Occidental College, retired from thirty-one years of active teaching last June. His duties have been assumed by Assistant Professor Andrew F. Rolle. Dr. Hardy, who was president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in 1954, was the second recipient of the Norman Bridge Chair, originally bestowed upon Robert Glass Cleland; Glenn S. Dumke, dean of the faculty, has been named to succeed him.

At the Ohio State University Everett Walters has been promoted to associate professor of history. Frank J. Pegues, formerly of the University of Colorado, has been appointed assistant professor. Gilman Ostrander, who taught last year at Reed College, has been appointed instructor in history. James M. Smith, instructor in history, has been awarded the Elizabeth C. Howald Fellowship for 1954-55 for research on the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

At Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College Thomas H. Reynolds, for twenty-eight years professor and head of the department of history, has retired as professor and chairman emeritus; Homer L. Knight, formerly dean of Westminster College, has been appointed professor and head of the department; Theodore L. Agnew has been promoted to associate professor; and Max Guyer has been appointed instructor.

John E. Pixton, formerly of Northwestern University, has been appointed instructor in the history department of the Pennsylvania State University.

Leon J. Agourides has been appointed assistant professor of history in Rider College, Trenton, New Jersey.

George H. Miller, formerly of the University of Michigan, has been appointed instructor in history in Ripon College.

At Rutgers University Irving S. Kull has retired after thirty-six years of unbroken service. L. Ethan Ellis has been re-elected chairman of the department of history and appointed to the Voorhees professorship. Dean Samuel C. McCulloch is in Australia on a Fulbright grant for the year, and in his absence Henry R. Winkler is serving as acting assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

John Higham, formerly of the University of California at Los Angeles, has been appointed associate professor of history. G. Alef, R. Baker, and F. G. Eyck have been appointed lecturers for the current academic year.

Promotions announced by the department of history in St. John's University, Brooklyn, are Robert Lacour-Gayet to professor, Gaetano L. Vincitorio to associate professor, and James E. Bunce and Frederick A. Benincasa to assistant professors.

In the University of the South James Miller Grimes has been named Francis L. Houghteling professor of history and chairman of the department. John Maurice Webb has been promoted to associate professor of history and David Edward Underdown is serving as assistant professor of history.

James Melvin Peet has been appointed assistant professor of history in Stetson University.

Nelson M. Blake has succeeded William P. Hotchkiss as chairman of the department of history in Syracuse University, on a rotating chairman plan of three years. Dr. Hotchkiss will remain on the teaching staff and will direct the honors program. Robert J. Rayback is on leave of absence for the first semester of the current year to finish his manuscript on Millard Fillmore.

Four new instructors in American history have been appointed by the University of Texas: Robert O. Divine, John H. Fritz, Otis A. Singletary, and David D. Van Tassel. Oliver H. Radkey is on leave for the first semester.

Ralph W. Steen has been named head of the department of history in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. John Hugh Hill has been promoted to professor of history and will serve as assistant to the dean of arts and sciences.

J. D. Forbes, formerly of Wabash College, has been appointed professor of business history in the new University of Virginia Graduate School of Business Administration.

Solomon Katz has been named chairman of the department of history in the University of Washington.

At Wayne University George A. Foote has been promoted to assistant professor of History, Bernard Weisberger, formerly of Antioch College, has been appointed assistant professor, and Hans E. Tuetsch, Rome correspondent of the *Neue Zurcher Zeitung* (Switzerland) is visiting assistant professor of history.



Vernon Carstensen and Marshall Clagett have been promoted to full professorships in the University of Wisconsin.

At Wisconsin State College, Superior, Ellen M. Clark has retired. Wyatt W. Belcher has succeeded her as chairman of the history-social science department. William G. Rector, formerly chairman of the social science department in Southern State Teachers College, Springfield, South Dakota, has joined the history staff.

#### RECENT DEATHS

George W. Eddy, associate professor of history in Youngstown College since 1946, died July 23 at the age of seventy-seven. He took his A.B. and A.M. at Brown University in 1903 and 1905 and his Ph.D. at the Ohio State University in 1932. His teaching career began at Keuka College, where he was professor of history and education, 1908-1912. For thirty-one years, 1915-1946, he taught history and economics at the South High School in Youngstown. He published various works on the teaching of history.

Bryn J. Hovde, educator, administrator, who passed away on August 10 at fifty-eight, was by nature a historian. A first generation American, he carried with him the Norwegian tradition of life and history. It is a tradition of men striving bravely against a harsh environment, individual men, generously loyal to leadership but recalcitrant to domineering control. Bryn Hovde's early ambition was to write the history of the plain peoples of the Northlands, Scandinavia. These were peoples that for hundreds of years had lived without the lust of conquering war. Peace was their sole international objective. But Bryn Hovde's Norwegians were no passive pacifists, as the Germans learned in dealing with the Resistance. They were prepared to fight manfully, but only for freedom.

But hardly had Bryn Hovde marked out the historical domain he meant to cultivate when he was drawn into public service as director of public welfare in Pittsburgh from 1936 to 1938, and from 1941 as director of the Pittsburgh office of the Defense Housing Agency, later as administrator of the Pittsburgh Housing Authority. In an environment far from liberal Dr. Hovde established such a repute for sound sense and creative public spirit that the door remained open for his return, after years in the State Department and as president of the New School for Social Research.

In the New School his dominant objective was to build up the division of international studies. In this he was successful, and given time he could have created a powerful center of international studies. But his health was giving way under the load of administrative duties. He retired to resume his early career as a real historian of the real people, only to be drawn back again into the public service of Pittsburgh housing.

And now when Bryn Hovde's career is closed, those who acknowledge the

supreme importance of history may ask themselves, Did we do well in making a housing administrator, an educational administrator, out of a man eminently qualified to become a historian of peoples?

The Honorable Charles Warren, famed historian of American legal institutions, and especially of the United States Supreme Court, died at his Washington home August 16. He was born March 9, 1868; was graduated from Harvard, A.B. and Phi Beta Kappa, in 1889; and, concluding his formal education with an additional three years in Harvard Law, was admitted to the bar in 1892. Then began a career which for many years was divided between public service and scholarly production, the two activities being frequently and fruitfully blended. His public life will be the subject of extended accounts elsewhere.

Mr. Warren's initial contribution to American legal history was his three-volume *History of Harvard Law School and Early Conditions* (1908), portions of which he later "revised, corrected and amplified" in his one-volume *History of the American Bar* (1911). Much the most important of his writings, however, is his three-volume work, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, which appeared in 1922, and received the Pulitzer Prize the year following. The subject of this great work is the impact of the Supreme Court on our national history, which Mr. Warren treats pragmatically, subordinating theoretical aspects. Thus while the expansion of judicial review necessarily claims his attention, he touches but lightly, when at all, upon the derivation and elaboration of the doctrines which rationalize this expansion. He shows statistically that since 1883 the Court's interventions in the field of legislative power, both state and national, have multiplied greatly, but he practically ignores one of the chief theoretical bases of this development, the conversion of the due process clause into a limitation on the substantive content of legislation. Indeed, he takes occasion at the end to insist that the product of judicial review, in other words, constitutional law, can never be a constitutional final (see III, 470-71).

*The Supreme Court in United States History* has been cited by the Court time and again, yet actually some of Mr. Warren's less formal writings have been of more immediate practical significance. Outstanding in this connection were his article in the *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVII (1937), entitled "New Light on the History of the Federal Judiciary Act of 1789," and the article in the *Boston Law Review*, X (1930), entitled "Presidential Declarations of Independence." On the strength of the former the Court in 1938 overruled a whole procession of decisions dating from 1842, thereby confessing nearly a century of error on its own part. To the latter is to be credited Attorney General Brownell's memorandum of May 17 last, supporting the right of the President to protect presidential confidences against congressional prying.

If Mr. Warren may be said to have professed a constitutional creed, it was James Madison's "dual federalism" or "federal dualism," as one chooses. This

point of view emerges most conspicuously, for example, in his small volume *Congress as Santa Claus*, the outgrowth of the White lectures at Virginia in 1932. But Madison is no longer the Court's mentor on this important issue. In 1936, in the "Triple A. Case," it definitely adopted Hamilton's sweeping conception of the national spending power.

Mr. Warren was a member of the American Historical Association from 1915 until his death and contributed frequent reviews to this journal.

Charles Henry Oldfather, professor of ancient history in the University of Nebraska, died in Lincoln, August 20, at the age of sixty-seven. Born in Tabriz, Persia, he received a B.A. from Hanover College (Indiana), a B.D. from McCormick Theological Seminary, studied at the University of Munich, 1911-12, and received his Ph.D. in 1922 from the University of Wisconsin. He taught at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, 1912-14. He was professor of classics at Hanover, 1914-16 and professor of Greek and ancient history at Wabash College, 1916-26. He came to the University of Nebraska as professor of history in 1926, and served as chairman of the department from 1929 to 1946 and as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1932 to 1952. His publications include *The Greek Literary Papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt* (1922); *Pufendorf's De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (1934); and translations of Diodorus of Sicily, Volumes I-VI, Loeb Classical Library, 1938-54. The favorite teacher of many students, he took an active part in the life of the university, the community, and the state. He had asked for retirement only a few months before his death.

Federick H. Cramer, whose tragic death occurred near Toulouse on September 4, was born in Berlin in 1906. He was trained in history and law at the University of Berlin and the Columbia Law School, and received his doctorate from the University of Zurich. A refugee from Nazi Germany, Professor Cramer settled permanently in this country in 1937, and for the past sixteen years he has taught ancient and modern European history at Mount Holyoke, serving as chairman of the department from 1945 to 1951. A man of amazing vitality and wide intellectual interests, he was a popular teacher at Mount Holyoke, Hartford and Holyoke Junior Colleges, and at Smith. He found time to write numerous articles and reviews for periodicals such as *Isis*, the *Jurist*, *Speculum*, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Current History*, and the *American Historical Review*, as well as to lecture to civic groups. His outstanding contribution to scholarly research lay in the field of scientific history during the later Roman and early Byzantine period. At the time of the accident he was on leave of absence to complete a second volume of his book, "Astrology in Roman Law and Politics, in the Later Roman Empire," to be published by the American Philosophical Society. Mr. Cramer's death is an inestimable loss to Mount Holyoke, to neighboring institutions, and to the profession.

Helen Nicolay, author of many biographies for young people of prominent Americans from Washington to Eisenhower, died in Washington, September 12. She was born in Paris, March 9, 1866, the only child of John G. Nicolay, private secretary to President Lincoln, and with John Hay the author of a life of Lincoln. In this work Miss Nicolay assisted her father and completed the last volume, unfinished at his death. In this and in the twenty-one volumes that bear her name, including a life of her father, she was a careful worker. She was an accomplished linguist and a volunteer interpreter in the State Department in the First World War. She was educated entirely by her father and private tutors. In 1922 George Washington University conferred on her an honorary M.A. degree. As an artist she had exhibited in Washington galleries. The house in which she and her father lived and worked for many years after 1870 stood on ground now occupied by the Annex to the Library of Congress. In 1947 she presented the papers of her father to the Library of Congress. She had been a member of this Association since 1915 and an occasional contributor of reviews.

Jeter A. Isely, associate professor of history at Princeton University, died unexpectedly, and almost instantly, of a heart attack on September 30. He was born on November 4, 1913, at Morristown, Tennessee, graduated from the University of Tennessee, and received his doctorate at Princeton, where he had been a member of the faculty since 1941. During the war he served in the Navy, reaching the rank of lieutenant-commander, and spending part of the time on General MacArthur's staff in the Southwest Pacific.

His premature death removes from the profession a man wholly dedicated to its interests. An indefatigable scholar, persisting against mounting difficulties in recent years, he remained active in the two fields of the American nineteenth century and general military history. He was the author of *Horace Greeley and the Republican Party, 1853-1861: A Study of the New York Tribune*, and co-author with P.A. Crowl of *The U.S. Marines and Amphibious War: Its Theory, and Its Practice in the Pacific*. He was at work, at the time of his death, on a full biography of Horace Greeley and on a study of Greeley's associate, George Ripley of the *New York Tribune*. Despite his absorption in research and in his own writing, he gave himself unsparingly to his students, of whom a great many always sought him out. Many graduates of Princeton, over the past decade, will remember him as adviser on their senior theses, always interested, widely informed, helpful, demanding high standards while arousing, guiding, and appreciating their intellectual efforts. It is a tragic loss for a man of such integrity, industry, and widely ranging abilities to die before his forty-first birthday.

Carl Stephenson, professor emeritus of history, Cornell University, died at his home in Ithaca, October 3, three months after his retirement from active teaching. He was the author of many works in medieval history, notably, *Borough and Town: A Study of Urban Origins in England* (1933). A selection from his

historical essays has recently appeared, under the title *Mediaeval Institutions: Selected Essays*, edited by Bryce D. Lyon.

Carl Stephenson was born on August 10, 1886. His father, Andrew Stephenson, had studied in the company of Charles Homer Haskins and others in the seminar of Herbert Baxter Adams at the Johns Hopkins University. Carl Stephenson began his studies at DePauw University and received the doctor's degree from Harvard University in 1914. He won a Commission for Relief in Belgium Fellowship for study in Belgium in 1924 and a Guggenheim Fellowship for study in France in 1931. During these and other periods of work abroad, he established close acquaintanceship with Professor Henri Pirenne and other leading European historians.

He had a long, varied, and active career as a teacher; in the course of it he taught at Harvard, Princeton, Wisconsin, Arkansas, and Washington universities, before he became professor of history at Cornell in 1930. He also taught summer session courses at Chicago, Columbia, and Stanford Universities.

His lively, lucid method of expression won him the respect of undergraduates. To the graduate students he was a model of patient, exact, and imaginative scholarship.

William Linn Westermann, who died on October 4, upheld the highest traditions of American scholarship in ancient history. Born in Illinois in 1873 and graduated from the University of Nebraska in 1894, Westermann began his teaching career in the classics, serving as assistant in Latin at his alma mater and as instructor and assistant professor of Latin and Greek at the University of Missouri. But as a student at the University of Berlin, where he came under the influence of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and Eduard Meyer and took his doctorate in 1902, his major interest was in ancient history, and from 1906 to 1908 he was assistant professor of history at the University of Minnesota. Thereafter he held professorial positions in history at the University of Wisconsin (1908-20), Cornell (1920-23), and Columbia (from 1923 until his retirement as professor emeritus in 1948). His teaching was not yet at an end, however, for in 1949 and again in 1953-54 he was visiting professor at Alexandria University in Egypt. Ancient social and economic history, particularly as illuminated by the Egyptian papyri, was the field which he cultivated most assiduously and intensively and in which he made his greatest contributions. He loved research and was tireless in carrying it on until he was disabled by a fatal brief illness. The list of his publications is long and impressive. Ancient slavery was a subject that he made peculiarly his own and on which his authority was universally recognized. The long article on it that he contributed to Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband VI (1935), served as the basis of what he regarded as his most important work, *The Greek and Roman Systems of Slavery in Antiquity*, which was in press at the time of his death and is to be published by the American Philosophical Society in the immediate future. But

for all his devotion to specialized research, Westermann was no esoteric. He believed in making the work of the specialist available to nonspecialists, as many of his articles attest. He took time off, moreover, to serve his country—as adviser on Turkish affairs and chief of the division of Western Asia in the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris in 1919, as delegate on the Greek Territorial Commission at the Paris Peace Conference, and as a member of the commission reporting to the State Department on the Armenian boundary decision in 1920. He was president of the American Historical Association and the recipient of many academic honors. The trustees of Columbia University voted to award him the honorary degree of doctor of letters, to be conferred at the Columbia Bicentennial Convocation on October 31, 1954, but death prevented him from receiving it.

## Communications

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It occurs to me that both the author and the readers of the "re-evaluation" of *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (AHR, October, 1954, pp. 1-12) may be interested to know that the lectures which made up that little volume were written not in 1926 but in 1895, when they were delivered at Barnard College. Dr. Jameson, while revising them for the Princeton series over thirty years later, expressed regret that he found disappointingly few changes necessary, so little research had been done along the lines he had indicated in the years since they were written.

Round Pond, Maine

ELIZABETH DONNAN

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Irving Brant, in his endeavor, in your October issue, to claim for Madison the authorship of "The North American," published anonymously in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* of September 17 and October 8, 1783, represents Madison as favoring, "as a matter of justice," the contention of the small states "that the West was the common property of the nation, won in war by all for all." In taking this position Mr. Brant seems to have overlooked a discussion which occurred in the Congress on August 16, 1782, and which was reviewed on the following August 27. On the latter date a petition was reported to Congress from the inhabitants of Kentucky, which, declaring that they considered themselves "subjects of the United States and not of Virginia" and that "the charter under which Virginia claimed that country had been dissolved," asked Congress "to erect them into a separate and independent state and admit them into the federal union." Lee declared that the countenance that had been given the petition was "an insult to Virginia," while Madison characterized "the supposition that the right of the crown devolved on the United States" as "so extravagant that it could not enter into the thoughts of any man," to which Wither- spoon rejoined that it evidently could, since it actually had entered into his own thoughts and also "the thoughts of the petitioners and into the thoughts of many



sensible men at the beginning of the present controversy." *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1878), pp. 146, 149, 138-39. See also J. C. Welling in *American Historical Association Papers*, III, Pt. 2, pp. 167 ff.

Of course, it has to be conceded that Madison sooner or later usually boxed the compass of opinion on about every subject he ever dealt with.

Princeton, New Jersey

EDWARD S. CORWIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The discussion which Dr. Corwin says I seem to have overlooked is dealt with at length in *James Madison: The Nationalist*, pages 151-56, within the compass of the citations in notes 7 and 8 of the "North American" article.

Washington, D.C.

IRVING BRANT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Readers of Kenneth M. Stamp's review of Thomas J. Pressly's *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (AHR, July, 1954, pp. 948-49) may be interested in the quite different evaluation of the book which appeared in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, May 7, 1954, the last paragraph of which reads as follows: "Professor Pressly has turned what might have been a pedestrian narrative and analysis of changing viewpoints into a really exciting piece of intellectual history, and that because he combines scholarship with a real grasp of the problems of historiography in any age or country and can see the problem of the Civil War, its causes, course and consequences, as a special case of a general problem. This is understanding, interpretation, not mere 'debunking' nor a resignation to the platitude that 'there is much to be said on both sides.' A book like this inspires hope that American history writing is entering a new and less parochial phase."

New Rochelle, New York

CORNELIUS A. VAN ZANDT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I was grieved by Kenneth Stamp's review of Thomas Pressly's *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* not because of Mr. Stamp's "revisionism," toward which I am inclined, but because of the general tenor of personal criticism in his review. Before these and other "young" historians get into a perennial squabble over interpretations of the Civil War, may I suggest that perhaps the problem for all of us in this matter lies not so much in the maturity of individual historians as in the maturity of our subject or "science" of history in this country, or indeed the maturity of America itself.

In his famous essay, "The Explanation of the Business Cycle," Joseph Schumpeter began with some remarks that seem extremely relevant to this issue:

"The childhood of every science is characterised by the prevalence of 'schools,' of bodies of men, that is, who swear by bodies of doctrine, which differ *toto caelo* from each other as to philosophic background and fundamentals of methods, and aim at preaching different 'systems' and, if possible, different results in every particular—each claiming to be in exclusive possession of Truth and to fight for absolute light against absolute darkness. But when a science has 'gained man's estate,' these things, whilst never ceasing to exist, tend to lose importance: the common ground expands, merits and ranges of 'standpoints' and 'methods' be-

come matter of *communis opinio doctorum*, fundamental differences shade off into each other; and what differences remain are confined within clear-cut questions of fact and of analytic machinery, and capable of being settled by exact proof."

Princeton University

WILSON SMITH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is quite natural that Nathan Schachner, biographer of Aaron Burr, should be inclined to rebut the evidence I produced that Burr tried to steal the 1800 presidential election from Jefferson and that his western conspiracy was treasonable in purpose. To prove the former, he says in his review of *James Madison: Secretary of State* (AHR, October, 1954, p. 126), I have marshaled "every bit of evidence, primary, second-hand, or mere assertion, in favor of that thesis and overlook[ed] equally weighty evidence against."

It was certainly my intention to marshal "every bit of evidence" that would prove or disprove the thesis, and any failure to produce available negative evidence was inadvertent. I thank Mr. Schachner for supplying the deficit, and wish merely to comment briefly on the omissions reported by him:

1. "Such for example, are omissions from Congressman Bayard's letter to Allan McLane, Federalist collector of customs, declaring 'I have taken good care of you,' and 'I have direct information that Mr. Jefferson will not pursue that plan [of removing Federalists from office].'" I had supposed that I covered this matter sufficiently by citing Bayard's later affidavit on assurances concerning "the non-firing of well-behaved public officials," and by saying that he wrote "to Collector Allan McLane that his job was safe." What this has to do with the question whether Burr was or was not intriguing to become President is a bit puzzling to me, but if Mr. Schachner sees a connection, and if the difference between his statement and mine is evidence to him that Burr was not seeking the Presidency, he surely has a right to his opinion.

2. "Similarly he [Brant] builds up a case against Burr's public renunciation by letter of December 16, 1800, because the election tie was not yet known, but omits reference to the letter of December 23 to Jefferson, when it *was*." I recall omitting that letter because use of it would have involved a complicated restating of Burr's deceptive maneuver regarding Rhode Island electors. So now I will merely amplify Mr. Schachner's comment by saying that on December 23 Burr wrote *privately* to Jefferson, assuring him that he was not seeking the Presidency, and that twice thereafter, when asked to end the intrigue by *an effective public renunciation*, he refused to do so. Again, this does not seem weighty evidence in Burr's favor, but if a Burr biographer thinks it clears him, it is right and proper that he should put the matter before the public.

Those who wish to compare Mr. Schachner's evidence with mine will have to read my book, which of course is all right with me.

Washington, D.C.

IRVING BRANT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Brant claims he had adequately covered Bayard's charges that Jefferson had made a deal with the Federalists in his text. After reading what he remarks above, let me quote his actual text (p.32): "He [Bayard] did not mention what

he claimed five years later: that General Smith gave him assurances as to Jefferson's views on the Navy, commerce, the public debt and the non-firing of well-behaved public officials. But he did write to Collector Allan McLane that his job was safe."

Does this not indicate that Bayard said nothing at the *time* about Jefferson's deal? Had Mr. Brant quoted Bayard's specific statement in the letter to McLane of February 17 concerning his "direct information" would he not have effectually negated what he was hinting at in his book: that Bayard's remarks five years later were a political afterthought? Furthermore, why does Mr. Brant not put into evidence the fact that General Smith himself, a Republican and directly involved, backed up Bayard's statement with concurring affidavits?

As to Mr. Brant's second point, wherein he defends his failure to cite Burr's letter to Jefferson of December 23 by calling it a *private* letter, I'm afraid he becomes somewhat disingenuous. Actually, as Mr. Brant is well aware, *all* political letters in those days were private in the sense they were written to individuals and not to the press. It was the accepted mode of disseminating information and letters were considered private only if definitely so marked. This letter was not thus restricted, and it is absurd to believe that Jefferson, whose presidency depended on it, felt inhibited from using it.

Why also does Mr. Brant omit from his case concerning Burr's intrigues for the presidency such readily available material to the contrary as Bayard's letter (February 16) to Bassett claiming Burr had it in his power to be elected, but "we have been counteracted in the whole business by letters he has written to this place" or General Smith's insistence later that Burr had never said or done anything contrary to his letter of December 16, 1800, denouncing all attempts to obtain for him the presidency? Why does Mr. Brant bring in the name of David Ogden, Federalist emissary to Burr, as having seen him without quoting Ogden's statement that the mission had failed? Why does he quote a seemingly damning letter from Burr to Smith (p. 30) in which, so Mr. Brant alleges above, he refused to renounce the intrigue, without stating the all-important fact that this letter is an alleged *copy*, not an original, which was found among a student's papers recently as made by him without any attribution to its source; that no such original can be found among General Smith's papers, while his statement as above clearing Burr does so exist? Certainly as probative evidence this modern copy has little value, and in any event the fact should have been clearly pointed out.

I am afraid that Mr. Brant has merely accentuated his definite bias against Burr by his defense.

New York, N.Y.

NATHAN SCHACHNER

## Editor's Notes

In 1928-29, when Dana Munro was managing editor of the *Review*, the Board of Editors furnished reviewers with a list of suggestions which included the following:

"It is desired that the review of a book shall be such as will convey to the reader a clear and comprehensive notion of its nature, of its contents, of its merits, of its place in the literature of the subject, and of the amount of its positive contribution to knowledge. The Editors do not favor that type of review which deals with only

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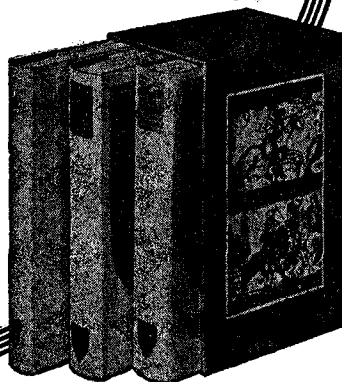
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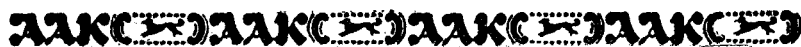
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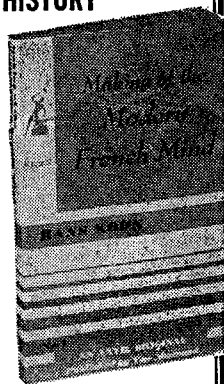
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